

# IN THESE TIMES

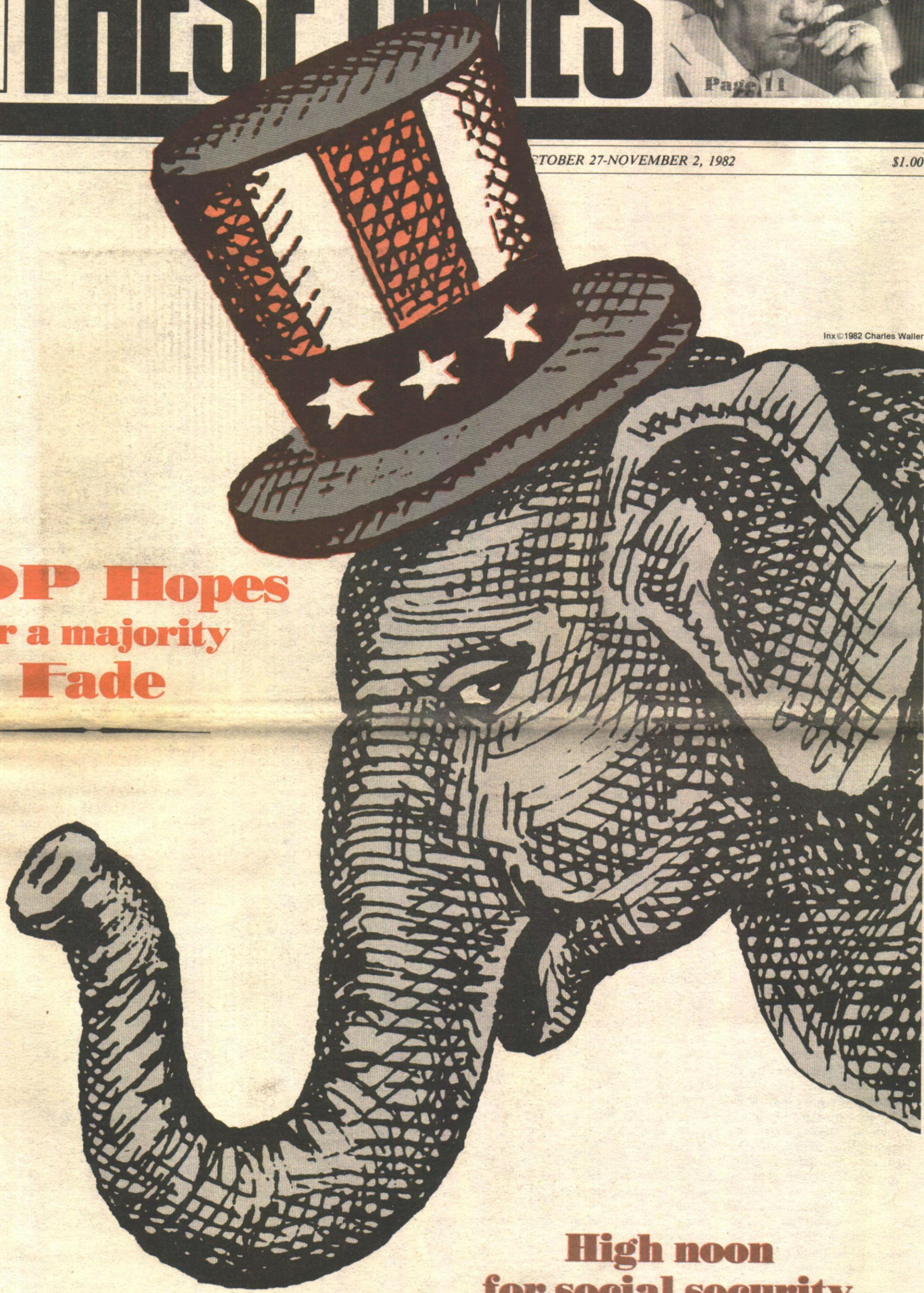
George Wallace again?



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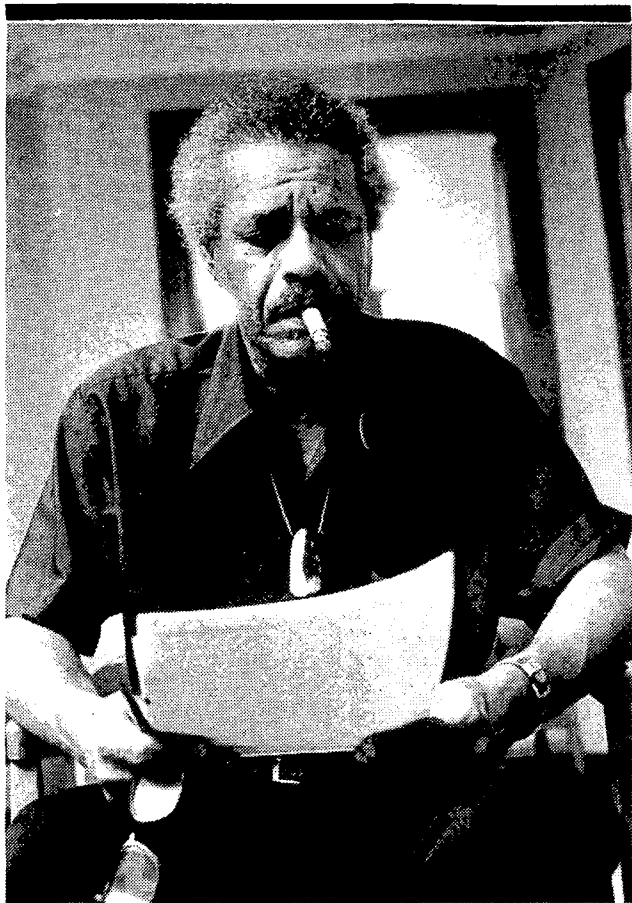
**GOP Hopes**  
for a majority  
**Fade**

**High noon**  
for social security

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# THE INSIDE STORY



Chicago black leader Lu Palmer sees the redistricting challenge as a signal of unity.

## Chicago remapping challenged in court

By Curtis Black

CHICAGO

Last month this city achieved a first for an area not covered by the Federal Voting Rights Act. The U.S. Justice Department, joined by civil rights groups and aldermen, filed a suit against Mayor Jane Byrne's re-drawing of Chicago ward boundaries, charging racial gerrymandering and underrepresentation of minorities. Attorney General William French Smith filed the suit on September 15, which claims the city violated both the Voting Rights Act and the Constitution. The suit, which went to trial October 19, asks the court to bar elections under the ward map and to order a new map.

Why did the Reagan administration Justice Department—which has done little else to advance civil rights—get in on the act? One plaintiff suggested the administration may have seen it as an opportunity to improve its civil rights image at the expense of the most Democratic city in the nation, perhaps in an attempt to minimize the mileage the Democrats got out of the fight to extend the Voting Rights Act.

Prior to the Justice Department's intervention, three suits challenging the map had been filed—one by two black independent alderman in conjunction with leaders of Operation PUSH and Chicago Black United Communities (CBUC), one by the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF) and one by a group of black and white aldermen and the Political Action Conference of Illinois (PACI), an independent black group headed by trade unionists. These suits were combined, then joined with the Justice Department suit.

Despite the growth of the city's black population from 32 to 40 percent in the last 10 years (while whites dropped from 60 to 43 percent), under Byrne's map the number of black majority wards decreased from 19 to 17, out of a total of 50. The map realigned boundaries in two wards where population shifts had created black majorities in the past decade. After the remapping, both wards had white majorities, and the re-election of their white incumbents, both Byrne allies, was virtually assured.

Overall, wards with white majorities had an average 77 percent racial majority, while blacks averaged over

90 percent in wards where they predominated. So while the number of blacks is almost equal to that of whites citywide, blacks got 17 wards, compared to 31 for whites. Given Chicago's reputation as the nation's most segregated city, these results required some effort.

"It is clear that blacks were packed into particular wards while Hispanics were dispersed among many wards," said MALDEF attorney Virginia Martinez.

According to a study released in April by the National Council of La Raza, precincts with high Hispanic registration were systematically cut out, causing the nine wards housing more than half of Chicago's half million Hispanics to lose a significant portion of Hispanic voters. The mayor did fulfill a previous pledge to give Hispanics two wards. (Though they officially account for 14 percent of the population, Chicago's Hispanics have not had a representative in the City Council since 1916.) But in one of the promised wards, when the incumbent alderman resigned, Byrne appointed a Hispanic alderman unknown to most community leaders, whose only qualification, besides working as a precinct captain, was being an attorney in a well-connected law firm. In the other new Hispanic ward, however, white precincts were moved back in before the final map was approved, cutting into the Hispanic majority and shoring up re-election chances of the white incumbent—again, a straight-line Byrne regular.

The ward map was passed by the City Council last November with a minimum of public review. During the last redistricting 10 years ago, 11 public hearings were held. This time the city map was made public only four days before it was approved. The week before, aldermen had received a map of their own wards only—making it clear that if they wanted to make a deal, they would have to make it with the administration, not with each other.

When individual aldermen went to City Hall with their complaints, they found Tom Keane—who had directed the 1960 and 1970 ward reapportionings as the late Mayor Richard Daley's right-hand man—holding forth in the planning commissioner's office. Keane had not been visible in politics since he went to federal prison in 1974 on corruption charges. His enlistment by Byrne early in 1981 to direct the redistricting was kept secret until the final days.

Before the map was passed, an ordinance cleared the City Council overriding a state statute holding that 10 aldermen opposing a new ward map—and agreeing on an alternate plan—could force a referendum on the matter. The ordinance raised the number required to force a referendum to 17. The map was passed with 15 no-votes.

### The promised challenge.

From the beginning, Byrne and her machine were vulnerable to a court challenge. It was threatened by opposing aldermen on the City Council floor during debate on the map. And the weekend before the map was approved, a coalition of six black community groups had vowed to take legal action if necessary. The coalition had presented its own proposed map at that meeting, held in a southside church, providing 21 predominantly black wards and three predominantly Hispanic ones.

That coalition is one example of what CBUC leader Lu Palmer characterizes as "an emerging unity movement among black groups" in Chicago. The trend began with the 1980 fight against a Commonwealth Edison executive's nomination as president of the school

board—a fight that won the first black school board president in Chicago's history.

In 1981 a similar coalition, including CBUC, PACI, the NAACP, PUSH and the Urban League, proposed maps that would have given minorities adequate representation in the state legislature and congress. Those actions marked the first time black organizations in Chicago had intervened as a single, united force in the redistricting process—in Palmer's view, a "monumental" event.

Black unity has been fueled by a series of outrages, especially the appointment of whites over blacks in several key posts—including the school board, the housing authority and the transit authority, all of which serve black Chicagoans in far greater numbers than whites. "Black people are just tired of being kicked in the rear," said one black alderman. "Something is brewing out there. You see it at every community meeting."

The black boycott of Byrne's ChicagoFest extravaganza (*In These Times*, Aug. 11) may have been a turning point in the community's attitude. The boycott fed directly into a massive voter registration drive, which concluded October 5. More than 235,000 new voters were registered in the drive, more than three-fifths of them black. Forty-three thousand were registered at booths set up outside unemployment and public aid offices by People Organized for Welfare and Employment Rights (POWER), under a special agreement won by the Legal Aid Foundation.

One definite motivation for the drive was the distinct possibility of a black candidate in the February mayoral primary. U.S. Representative Harold Washington, the clear favorite among blacks and the only potential black candidate with a chance to win, had set the registration of 50,000 new black voters as one precondition to his considering a race. Following the drive, Washington said he would wait till after his reelection to Congress in November (he is not being challenged) before deciding on a race for mayor.

But, even if he does run, Washington says, "the answer to our problem is not in having Harold Washington run for mayor.... The answer is for our people to participate in politics."

### Beyond Byrne.

Although Jane Byrne and Harold Washington have been the catalysts for the upsurge of political activity among Chicago's blacks, activists are looking beyond the personalities and the coming election toward altering the distribution of power in this city. "We are organizing beyond Jane Byrne," says Timuel Black, chairman of the Peoples Movement for Voter Registration, the umbrella organization of city-wide and community groups that marshaled volunteers for registration programs at scores of churches, community groups and businesses during the drive. "No matter who the candidate is—white or black—that candidate will have to respect the fact that a large number of new voters are on the rolls, and that they are there for a reason."

Although the plaintiffs are hoping for a settlement by the February elections, the significance of the suit against the ward map may be more symbolic than practical—making a concrete issue of Byrne's (and the Democratic Party's) arrogance and insensitivity to the black community. It is just one of a train of events that is forcing Chicago's black community to mobilize and organize itself toward the goal of political power.

■ Curtis Black writes on Chicago politics and arts for *Haymarket*, a Chicago journal.

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IN THESE TIMES

# Elections test GOP strength



In Mississippi, Democratic incumbent Wayne Dowdy (above) is counting on a high black turnout to defeat Republican Lile Williams.

By John B. Judis

## WASHINGTON

**I**N THE WAKE OF THEIR 1980 landslide, Republican politicians spoke of a new Republican majority that would dominate American politics in the same way Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal Democratic majority did. The 1982 elections would be the test. If the Republicans could increase their margin in 1982, as the Democrats had

done in 1934, then a Republican realignment would have occurred. If not, then the Reagan landslide would have to be filed under voter volatility rather than conservative awakening.

From every indication, the results of the 1982 elections will prove disappointing to the prophets of realignment. In the House, the Republicans could lose as many as 40 seats.

In the Senate, where the Democrats hold 21 of the 33 seats being contested,

Elizabeth Holtzman (now Brooklyn district attorney), that they should rally behind him rather than run against him in the primary from the left. Even New York's Liberal Party endorsed Moynihan. NCPAC has given up trying to defeat Moynihan.

Another beneficiary was Nevada Sen. Howard Cannon, who was opposed in the September 14 Democratic primary by "boll weevil" James Santini. NCPAC spent \$130,000 attacking Cannon's attendance record, and his support for a congressional pay raise and for the Panama Canal Treaty. But Cannon, who was regarded as the underdog, made NCPAC the issue and with gratifying results, defeating Santini by 5,000 votes.

But perhaps the most dramatic NCPAC failure has been in Maryland, where it targeted Democratic Senator Paul Sarbanes. A colorless campaigner with an undistinguished record, Sarbanes was expected to be vulnerable to a Republican challenge in 1982. NCPAC launched its \$625,000 campaign against Sarbanes in June 1981, running commercials charging that he was "too liberal for Maryland." Besides running ads excoriating Sarbanes for giving away the Panama Canal, NCPAC is currently running positive ads for Sarbanes's opponent, Prince Georges County Executive Lawrence Hogan.

the Republicans need to win only 13 of 33 to gain an edge. But they will be lucky to break even, which means their majority will be imperiled in 1984 when most of the contested seats are Republican.

In gubernatorial races, where Republicans have previously controlled most Midwestern states, they could lose as many as five governorships to the Democrats.

Instead of realignment, what appears to be occurring in 1982 is what political scientist Walter Dean Burnham has termed "dealignment," in which the possibility of a Republican or a Democratic majority becomes increasingly remote as the electorate fragments and withdraws.

The most pressing questions about 1982 concern the composition of the emerging fragments. Will there still be a Republican Party in the Midwest and Northeast? Will the "progressive" Democratic coalitions, backed by labor and minorities, take over in the industrial East and Midwest? Will the South develop a genuine two-party system?

### The role of blacks.

In both the South and the North, black voters will play a particularly important role in determining whether new coalitions emerge. In the New York and Massachusetts Democratic gubernatorial primaries, a large and enthusiastic black turnout allowed labor and liberal-backed candidates to win. In Baltimore, an astonishing 50 percent turnout made possible an upset victory in the city prosecutor's race. In November's gubernatorial and senatorial races in California and in the gubernatorial race in Illinois, black voters could make the difference.

But the role of blacks in the South, where black voters make up 30 percent or more of 32 congressional districts, could be even more telling. Since 1896, Southern politics had been dominated by Bourbon Democrats, who periodically used race-baiting to keep lower-income whites in line. But as a result of the civil rights movement and the Voting Rights Act, blacks have entered the political mainstream. In Mississippi, for instance, black voter registration increased from 6.4 percent in 1964 to 72 percent in 1980.

An immediate consequence of the civil rights movement was the revitalization of the Republican Party as the party of segregation and business. With his opposi-

tion to school integration and the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Republican candidate Barry Goldwater in 1964 took the first step toward transforming the party of Lincoln. The transformation has continued unabated, if less openly, under the leadership of former Democrat South Carolina Sen. Strom Thurmond and Sen. Jesse Helms.

Blacks have parlayed their increased voting strength into numerous local election victories, but they have largely failed to influence congressional and senatorial contests, which continue to be dominated by conservative Democrats and Republicans. As Michigan Rep. John Conyers and Neil Kotler recently detailed in *The Progressive*, 76 percent of the members of Congress from the South backed Ronald Reagan's tax and budget bills.

But in 1982 Southern blacks could decide several races between Reagan Republicans and moderate or even liberal Democrats. These include the Arkansas governor's race and the crucial Virginia Senate race. (In Virginia's 1981 gubernatorial contest, a high black turnout provided Democrat Charles Robb with his margin of victory.)

## Black voters will determine whether new coalitions emerge.

The most important races, however, will be in Mississippi and Alabama, two states with large black populations and high unemployment. In Mississippi's newly created Delta district, black state legislator Robert G. Clark is facing Republican Judge Webb Franklin. Clark, who would become the first black House member from Mississippi since Reconstruction, has received the active support of Mississippi's white Democratic establishment, including Gov. William Winter, Sen. John Stennis and retiring Rep. David Bowen.

The district contains about 60 percent blacks, but blacks make up only 40 percent of the registered voters. Clark will have to win about 15 percent white support as well as near unanimous black support to defeat Franklin, who has already resorted to subtle race-baiting. ("He's one of us" is Franklin's slogan.)

In Jackson's congressional district, Wayne Dowdy, who defeated Republican Lile Williams in a 1981 special election, is rematched against him in November.

Continued on page 6

## NCPAC's failures

**WASHINGTON**—Largely on the strength of its showing in 1980—when the National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC) was credited with helping defeat liberal Democratic Senators George McGovern, Frank Church, John Culver and Birch Bayh—NCPAC was able to amass a \$10 million war chest for the 1982 elections. In early 1981, NCPAC announced it was targeting 21 Democratic senators for defeat in 1982.

But NCPAC has had little success so far. In primary and general election races, NCPAC's opponents have been able to use its opposition to their own advantage, both for raising funds from Democrats and for raising the specter of out-of-state manipulation. And NCPAC has had to reduce its targets from 21 to nine.

The first beneficiary of NCPAC's opposition was New York Democratic Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who was able to use NCPAC's 1981 ad campaign against him to convince liberal Democrats such as former Rep.

Sarbanes was able to use NCPAC's early offensive to raise \$950,000 in 1981 for his campaign. This fall he has tried to tie Hogan to the "alien, extremist" NCPAC, while Hogan has increasingly tried to distance himself away from it. As a token of Sarbanes's success, NCPAC has gone from introducing its ads with the statement, "Paid for by the National Conservative Political Action Committee as a service to the People of Maryland," to quickly flashing its name at the end of ads.

A recent poll conducted for the *Baltimore News American*/WBAL TV showed Sarbanes leading Hogan among likely voters by 54 to 33 percent.

NCPAC has given up on trying to defeat Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan.



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NCPAC's only success in 1982 Senate races could come in Montana, where it is spending \$300,000 to defeat Democratic incumbent John Melcher, who is running against Republican Larry Williams. But if Melcher loses, it probably will not be because of NCPAC, which so far has only caused itself and Williams embarrassment.

In one NCPAC ad, a middle-aged woman, who described herself as a "typical Montana conservative," accused Melcher of being a big spender liberal. But it turned out the woman had just moved to Montana from California, was not registered to vote and had not heard of Melcher until NCPAC recruited her for the commercial.

TV stations also began running correctives to the NCPAC ads. After a NCPAC ad charged Melcher with being a big spender, several stations ran the statement, "We alert our viewers that the most recent analysis by the National Taxpayer's Union rates Senator Melcher as an average spender."

The final irony is that Melcher's opponent is not a NCPAC-type conservative. For example, he is a stronger environmentalist than his opponent and Williams supports legalized abortion, which Melcher opposes.

—J.J.



## IN SHORT

## New rousing developments

At a time when the home building industry is at a virtual standstill, housing developments are being planned for parks, church yards and union hall lawns in 33 cities, with full occupancy expected by election day. In spots as far-flung as Jacksonville, Fla., Davenport, Iowa, and Reno, Nev., opponents of Reagan administration policies will be taking up short-term residency in tent villages to protest cuts in housing and job programs. Calling their new homes Reagan Ranches—an updated version of the once popular Hooverilles—villagers hope to dramatize the new depression that Reagan is leading the country into and to amplify support for candidates opposing his policies. The action is sponsored by ACORN (Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now), which constructed a canvas-and-nylon subdivision across the street from the White House last summer to draw attention to the need for expanded urban homesteading programs. Their presence in the capital prompted congressional hearings on the issue.

## The bomb business booms

Over the lunch hour today, while you gobbled a sandwich in the cafeteria or strolled through a park looking at the autumn colors, world leaders shelled out \$60 million to buy more weapons. The yearly global armament bill has now topped \$600 billion, according to economist Ruth Leger Sivard. That means more than a million dollars a minute. The U.S. and USSR account for over half of arms expenditures, Sivard says, and 58 percent of weapons exports. In all, 32 nations spent more last year on their armed forces than on their combined education and health care budgets.

The Reagan administration has done its fair share in making things rosy for weapons manufacturers by tripling U.S. arms sales in the past year. Saudi Arabia alone bought \$7.3 billion in arms during fiscal 1982 (which ended September 30)—\$100,000 more than the entire U.S. sales figures for 1981. Australia, Egypt, Pakistan and South Korea also rang up seven digits worth of purchases. Defending the dramatic reversal of the Carter administration's policy of cooling weapons exports, Reagan has called arms sales "an essential instrument of U.S. national security and foreign policy."

## Brits do Reagan's bidding

When the members of the European Community sit down in private to discuss their grievances with the U.S., reports Claudia Wright, one seat at the table will be representing the U.S.—the seat of the British delegate. According to British Foreign Office documents leaked in London during late September and later suppressed by a court order, Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government serves as Ronald Reagan's stand-in on sensitive discussions of foreign policy. At the September 20-21 meeting of European Community foreign ministers in Brussels, for instance, British Foreign Secretary Francis Pym carried along briefing papers about discussions between British leaders and representatives of the Reagan administration and the U.S. steel industry on the subject of quotas for European steel exports. He was also advised of methods for stalling efforts aimed at lifting the sanctions against European companies supplying the Soviet pipeline, so that the U.S. Congress would not be tempted to also challenge Reagan's position on the issue. On these and other issues, Pym's role was to avert any foreign policy embarrassments for the Conservative Party's allies across the sea at a time when the Republicans are facing the possibility of a significant electoral setback in November.

## Not quiet on the western front

Most dispatches from the high school frontlines these days have little good news for leftists, or even for folks who would like to see a few rebellious sparks from the upcoming generation. There is tale after tale of Izod-clad, Topsider-shod young people trying to outdo one another for traditionalism. But *Santa Barbara News and Review* writer D.J. Palladino has found that—along with drugs—Anthony Burgess, Jack Kerouac, *Beowulf* and *Das Kapital* are on the minds of some students at Santa Barbara High, mainly those who call themselves punks. And the same kids view authority with some suspicion. One 17-year-old girl complained, "According to my history teacher, American imperialism is good for the world, and all Communists are wrong." The jocks, the soshes (preppies), the hippies (drug-gobbling Led Zeppelin fans) and the surfers at the posh high school aren't challenging the status quo, Palladino reports, but the punk clique embraces views ranging from apolitical anarchism to the *Revolutionary Worker* left. And the fascination with the extreme right sometimes associated with punk cadres seems to have disappeared—one kid told Palladino, "Anyone who thinks punks are into fascism is stupid."

—Jay Walljasper



Rosalyn Carter and Sharon Percy Rockefeller were among those accused by Sen. Jeremiah Denton (R-Ala.), above, of having ties to the Soviet government.

## D.C. mulls Soviet links

WASHINGTON—Sen. Jeremiah Denton (R-Ala.) believes that five Senate wives, along with Rosalyn Carter and Sharon Percy Rockefeller, belong to an organization tainted by ties to the Soviet Union. Denton's accusation, made in a September 30 Senate speech, created a furor among peace and civil liberties groups here and eventually involved the *Washington Post* as well.

Denton's charges were made in response to a resolution introduced by Sen. Dale Bumpers (D-Ark.) and passed by Congress proclaiming October 10 as "National Peace Day." The resolution was inspired by an organization called Peace Links, whose membership includes Bumper's wife, Betty, and the wives of Paul Tsongas (D-Mass.), Carl Levin (D-Mich.), John Heinz (R-Pa.) and Patrick Leahy (D-Vt.). Denton, a former POW who heads the controversial senate subcommittee on security and terrorism, expressed concern that the resolution "undermines our position in the disarmament negotiations."

He also questioned the membership of Peace Link's advisory board. "Four organizations on the Peace Links advisory board are either Soviet-controlled or openly sympathetic with, and advocates for, Communist foreign policy objectives," Denton said. Among the groups Denton named were Paul Warnke's Center for National Security, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) and Women's Strike for Peace.

Denton was promptly denounced on the Senate floor by Bumpers, Gary Hart (D-Colo.) and other senators. On October 6, the *Washington Post* took issue with Denton and with President Reagan's October 4 statement that the nuclear freeze was inspired by people "who want the weakening of America and who are manipulating many honest and sincere people."

But the *Post* added a word or two on two of the groups Denton attacked. "Senator Denton

got the rebuff he deserved. It is true, however, that one Peace Links advisory group, Women's League for Peace and Freedom, is a Soviet front and another, Women's Strike for Peace, has connections to a second front, the Women's International Democratic Federation. They have the right. But why does Peace Links abide the taint that even the slightest connection to Soviet stooge group imparts?"

On October 9, the *Post* published an article retracting the charges against both groups. "We do not mean to suggest that any of the groups advising Peace Links is a Soviet stooge," it said. It also admitted that it had misread a State Department report that characterized WILPF internationally as a Soviet front and that it had no evidence that

WILPF's American section was a Soviet front. Nothing was said about Women's Strike for Peace.

But the *Post* added, that "Moscow often seeks to exploit Western citizens who, as private individuals, enter issue-oriented forums in which the Soviet bloc participants, while claiming to be otherwise, are creatures of the KGB."

The *Post* printed letters on the editorial page from the aggrieved groups and from the American Civil Liberties Union. The ACLU's President Norman Dorsen and Executive Director Ira Glassner wondered if the *Post* was suggesting that groups like Peace Links employ a loyalty test before allowing organizations to join its advisory board.

—John B. Judis

## Danger lurks in the fog

PHILADELPHIA—When 12,000 people died of bronchitis and heart disease during a five-day London fog in 1952, scientists were perplexed. It was believed the city's chronically bad air pollution was to blame for the "Killer Fog," although it could not be conclusively proved. But a recent study in Los Angeles may have uncovered an important link: acid fog.

It may be one of the more dangerous by-products of severe air pollution. In the first extensive study of fog in an urban area, California Institute of Technology researchers found that every sample of Los Angeles fog over a six month period was acidic—sometimes with concentrations 250 times higher than acid rain.

Environmental engineer Michael Hoffmann, one of the researchers, believes that acid fog is probably much more harmful to people than acid rain. Both conditions occur, he said, when sulfur dioxide from burning coal and nitrogen oxides from auto exhausts combine with water droplets in the atmosphere, forming sulfuric acid and nitric acid. But unlike acid rain, which mainly affects northern states,

acid fog lingers close to the ground—and close to people. Even worse, it can probably develop in any polluted area during periods of high humidity.

But acid is not the only danger lurking in the fog. The study also found high concentrations of lead and other heavy metals along with dangerous chemicals such as formaldehyde.

One of the biggest problems with acid fog is that the tiny contaminated droplets can enter the lungs and blood stream. Their size makes it possible for them to slip past the body's filtering mechanisms. According to Hoffmann, there is also evidence that the smallest of the droplets contain the greatest concentration of acid and other contaminants.

In the most extreme pollution cases Hoffmann said, acid fog could lead to deaths such as what happened in London. Although the acid concentrations were not measured at the time, Hoffmann has calculated that the level of acidity during the "Killer Fog" was probably twice as high as what they have measured in the L.A. area.

"Certainly in all the severe air pollution episodes with excess deaths around the world, fog seemed to be a pretty essential ingredient," said Hoffmann. "That's strong circumstantial evidence."

—Paul Choitz



## INITIATIVES

# Californians will vote on measures

By Thomas Brom  
and Paul Glickman

SAN FRANCISCO

**S**ENATE CANDIDATE JERRY Brown and gubernatorial candidate Tom Bradley may not get voters to the polls in California this November, but a set of five controversial statewide initiatives should. Once again California leads the nation in initiative measures, four of the five placed on the ballot by voter petitions circulated by grassroots organizations. And in an interesting turnaround, many local candidates rise or fall according to the fate of initiatives they endorse.

"If state government was fair and representative, it probably would be better to deal with these measures in the legislature," says Lenny Goldberg, an aide to Assemblyman Tom Bates. "But most of these measures were brought up again and again in the past decade, only to be blocked by the special interests. In a way, the November ballot is a referendum on what the state legislature failed to do."

This fall, Californians won't be the only "citizen legislators" making an end

run around state government. According to David Schmidt of the Initiative News Report, the 52 initiatives appearing on state ballots are more than in any election year since 1932. And these measures will appear in 19 of the 23 states where direct popular referenda are permitted—an all-time record.

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## Water conservation.

The defeat of the Peripheral Canal in June by Northern California margins of 95-to-1 was one of the great electoral victories against special interests in the history of the state. Stopping the "water lobby" was one thing. Altering agribusiness dependence on subsidized canal water is quite another.

Many provisions in the 1982 water initiative stem from recommendations of the 1975 Governor's Commission to Review Water Rights Law. Those recommendations were picked off one by one and defeated by the water lobby as they appeared in bill form. But in June 1981, a coalition of environmental groups met to draft and qualify an initiative. Harrison Dunning, a water law expert at

UC-Davis and former staff member of the Commission, put together a bill that incorporated many of the earlier proposals and added a section protecting white-water rivers.

The initiative requires all state water districts to implement conservation plans before drawing on new water supplies, and to reduce or eliminate groundwater overdrafts that have caused land subsidence in the San Joaquin Valley of up to 28 feet. Irrigation of newly plowed lands in the overdraft areas would be prohibited—effectively halting the conversion of California desert to cropland. Finally, the bill permits the State Water Resources Control Board to grant "instream" water rights for wildlife and recreational purposes, limits filling of the New Melones dam and centralizes water conservation planning with the five-member state board.

Not surprisingly, agribusiness, the Farm Bureau and regional water districts all oppose the bill. But because the measure draws together so many long-stalled provisions of water reform—and scrupulously avoids a frontal assault on prevailing water subsidies—it has won editorial support from the *Los Angeles*

## Bottle bill.

The statewide bottle-bill initiative takes on added significance because California is the nation's largest consumer of beer and soft drinks. Nine states already have five-cent deposit laws on all soft drink and beer containers, and a successful initiative here could push Congress to finally pass a national bill. As a result, about \$5 million has been raised already to defeat the bill, much of it from the glass manufacturers, Kaiser Aluminum, Coca-Cola, Pepsi-Cola and Safeway Stores.

Since the first bottle bill passed in Oregon in 1971, huge spending disparities in bottle-bill campaigns have become commonplace. Industry opponents outspent bottle-bill supporters 40-to-1 in Montana and 26-to-1 in Ohio, contributing to the defeat of voter initiatives in seven of the nine attempts. But similar measures won against 15-to-1 odds in Maine and 11-to-1 odds in Michigan. Californians Against Waste hopes it can hold the disparity to 7 or 8-to-1, and thinks it may benefit from public revulsion at the industry's overkill.

The bottle-bill campaign is complicated for the left because of organized labor's opposition to the loss of union jobs in the container industries. "There probably would be some job dislocation in the can and bottle industries," says David Tam of the League of Conservation Voters. "But the experience of other states shows that job loss is even worse from automation in these industries, and that significant jobs are created in the recycling industries."

Industry critics of the bill call the process "fire the father and hire the son" in their appeals to the trade unions. But Jim Knox, a Modesto recycler and spokesman for the Northern California bottle-bill campaign, points out that the Retail Clerks and the Teamsters support the measure, and that some AFL-CIO councils have changed sides. "In 1976, Maine voters passed the bottle initiative by 56 percent, despite the opposition of the state AFL-CIO," he says. "In 1979, industry supporters put a repeal measure on the ballot. This time the AFL-CIO said its job loss fears were unfounded, opposed repeal and 86 percent of the voters supported retaining the law."

Like water law reform, the California bottle bill has languished in the state legislature for years, only once making it to the Senate floor. The bottle-bill initiative is now being run by an aide to State Senator Omer Rains of Santa Barbara, who tried unsuccessfully to carry a bill through the legislature since 1975.

The huge sums being spent to defeat the water and bottle initiatives this year leave California Water Protection Council spokesman McElroy undaunted. "There's a huge price on the practice of politics in this state," he says. "Special interests rule the legislature now almost as thoroughly as they did when populist reformers passed the initiative laws 80 years ago. It's going to be close in November, but I still like our chances going directly to the people."

## Gun control.

Proposition 15 is not gun control per se—it would make it illegal to buy or sell an unregistered handgun in California after April 30, 1983.

"Enough is enough," cries campaign organizer Fred Dorey. "California already has five million handguns—at the present rate there will be 10 million by 1990."

If the initiative passes, Californians will be allowed to buy only one handgun between January 1, 1982, and April 30, 1983. New handguns will be illegal after the 1983 date, and importing them into the state or purchasing them by mail will be illegal.

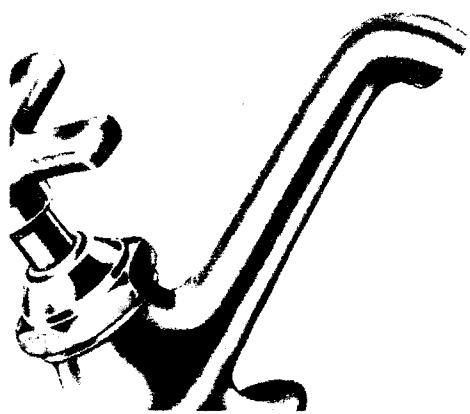
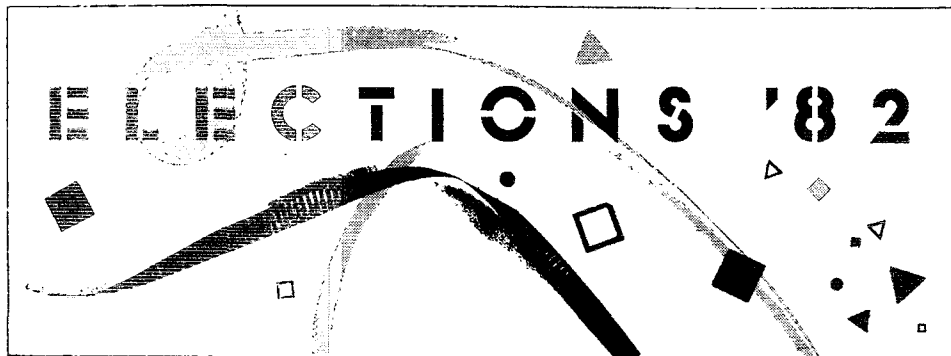
Prop. 15's opponents argue that it is too expensive to enforce, that it will create another layer of bureaucracy and that it will increase crime by giving criminals an advantage over law-abiding citizens.

Aided by large contributions from the NRA and many gun manufacturers, the "No on 15" campaign has spent \$3 million fighting the initiative, while the measure's proponents have built a \$1 million war chest. There have been some surprises in the campaign. Two of President Reagan's closest supporters—"Kitchen cabinet" member Justin Dart and former Reagan aide Peter Hannaford—have endorsed Prop. 15 and contributed several thousand dollars to the "Yes on 15" Committee.

Despite the well-financed opposition, polls held three weeks before the election show Prop. 15 holding on to a slight lead. The endorsements of left-liberals such as Representative Ron Dellums, coupled with the support of moderate gubernatorial candidate Tom Bradley, have helped the initiative. George Deuk-majian, Bradley's Republican opponent, opposes Prop. 15.

The initiative's opponents have assembled a predictably long list of law enforcement officials who say the measure is no good. But there is a twist this time around, because the police chiefs and sheriffs of large urban areas have come out in favor of Prop. 15. San Francisco Police Chief Cornelius "Con" Murphy says some sort of limit on guns is needed. He notes that Prop. 15 would not require people to turn in their handguns and points out that many handgun deaths result from accidents or domestic disputes.

The initiatives supporters turned a recent defeat for local gun control into a political plus for the initiative. On October 13 a state appeals court struck down San Francisco's controversial handgun ban, ruling that state law prohibits cities and counties from enacting gun control legislation. While gun control opponents cheered, the "Yes on 15" campaign declared its delight with the ruling. "Yes on 15" committee chair Victor Palmieri says by ruling that only the legislature can pass gun control laws, "the court has made it clear that Prop. 15 is totally in compliance with state law."



Times and the McClatchy newspapers in Fresno, Modesto and Sacramento.

Ironically, the ad agency running the opposition campaign for the growers, Russo Watts and Associates, is the same firm that ran the successful anti-Peripheral Canal campaign. This time, however, Russo Watts is finding it difficult to focus the opposition. "They can't find the handle," Goldberg comments. "Various slogans say the bill is too complex, too costly and hurts farmers. But nothing seems to click."

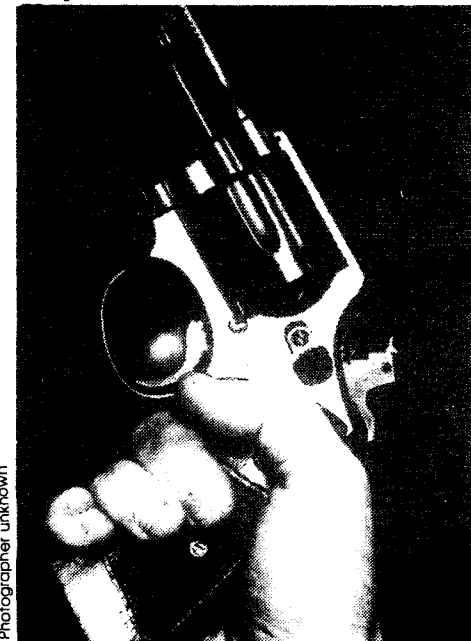
"The word 'complicated' is being used more and more as a pejorative to defeat initiatives," says Leo McElroy of the California Water Protection Council. "We've tried to keep it simple—for instance, there's no attempt to legislate water pricing."

Environmental critics of the bill—and privately there are many—say that is part of the problem. "The biggest debates in drafting the bill were over fair water pricing and water subsidies," says a leader of the anti-Peripheral Canal campaign in Los Angeles. "But the final language was softened to get the *L.A. Times* endorsement. This bill is a step in the right direction, but it's just the beginning."

Paul Comstock

Photographer unknown

Photographer unknown





# GOP

Continued from page 3

Dowdy, who has defied the Southern "boll weevils" and who championed the Voting Rights Act in his previous campaign, is counting again on a high black turnout to defeat Williams. If both Dowdy and Clark win, Mississippi's Democratic Party could be transformed overnight into a liberal-leaning, integrated organization.

In Alabama, a black-white coalition is backing a liberal Democrat against incumbent Republican Richard Shelby in Tuscaloosa's 40 percent black congressional district. In Birmingham, Democrat Ben Erdreich, a county welfare official, is running against incumbent Republican Albert Lee Smith.

In 1980, Smith, aided by the Moral Majority, upset incumbent Republican John Buchanan in the primary and barely defeated an unknown Democrat in the November election. As a member of Congress, Smith has been preoccupied with the Family Protection Act, one of the Moral Majority's priority pieces of legislation. In a district that is over 30 percent black and is suffering from steel layoffs, Erdreich has charged that Smith is so engrossed with teenage chastity that he has ignored unemployment.

But another factor is pushing the Southern Democrats to the left and toward a black-white coalition. Conservative and business political action committees (PACs), which formerly supported conservative Democrats as well as Republicans, are now backing only Republicans. They hope to maintain Republican control of the Senate and secure Republican control of the House. Boll weevil Democrats in North Carolina have found themselves facing candidates funded by Jesse Helm's Congressional Club. And loyal oil-state Democrats in Oklahoma and Texas have been challenged by Republicans funded by Dallas Energy PAC and other conser-

vative oil independents.

Prior to the '50s, the Republicans were primarily a party of the Northeast and Midwest. But when Goldwater won the presidential nomination, the party shifted its focus to the West and Southwest—the "sunbelt" as conservative pundit Kevin Phillips called it. The geographical shift corresponded to a political shift from a variety of New Deal Republicanism to a combination of laissez-faire economics and social conservatism. Indeed, the new Republican conservatives effectively destroyed the party's liberal wing in primary battles during the '70s.

But the party has retained its base among "stalwart" and "regular" Republicans in the Midwest and Northeast—those Republicans who backed Gerald Ford in 1976 against Reagan. In 1982, the Republicans might lose this base in the Midwest. Prior to the 1982 election, Republican governors in Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan and Ohio announced their retirement. In the five state races, the Republicans are favored only in Iowa, where Democratic challenger Roxanne Conlin lost her early lead when it was revealed that she paid no income taxes the previous year. In addition, Republican incumbents could lose in Illinois and Nebraska.

Ironically, the only Republican successes in the North may be among the remaining moderate-liberals—the "gypsy moths," as they have been called. Attempts by conservative Republicans to oust Connecticut Sen. Lowell Weicker, Vermont Sen. Robert Stafford and New Jersey Senate candidate Millicent Fenwick in the primaries failed miserably. If these candidates, along with Rhode Island Sen. John Chafee, Massachusetts Rep. Silvio Conte and other gypsy moths survive in November, they will constitute a small Northern fringe on a party thoroughly dominated by Sunbelt and by Reagan conservatism.

If Democratic prospects improve, the temptation to leave the party altogether would become overpowering. The Republicans, for their part, would lose any

pretense of being a national majority party, although they would still stand as good a chance as the Democrats of winning any given national contest.

As if to acknowledge their lack of a long-term majority, Reagan and the Republicans have pursued a largely defensive strategy in the 1982 election. Nationally, Reagan's campaign on behalf of the Republicans is best summed up by the slogan "stay the course." Reagan has argued that his economic policies have still not had sufficient time to work and has blamed his current difficulties on past Democratic administrations.

In the House, the Republicans deftly engineered a September vote on the Constitutional amendment to balance the budget. When the Democrats defeated it, Reagan accused them of being "budget busters" and placed the responsibility for past, current and future recessions on their shoulders.

Reagan has stayed clear of social issues such as abortion or even busing. The administration is afraid of a backlash in which voters will vote Democratic because of their opposition to the administration's stand on these issues. The only social issue Reagan has addressed is crime—the concern that transcends politics. His proposed remedies—a major federal anti-drug campaign—fall far short of neighborhood fears of mugging and burglary.

But Republican candidates, faced with unanswerable challenges to Reaganomics, have tried to divert attention from the recession by attacking their opponent's position on capital punishment, abortion, school prayer or busing. In Virginia, Republican Senate candidate Paul Trible has focused his campaign on Democrat Richard Davis' opposition to the death penalty, although the issue is entirely irrelevant to the Senate. In Long Island's congressional race, Republican John LeBoutillier has proposed sending local criminals to a "polar prison" in Alaska and replacing the electric chair and gas chamber with the gallows or firing squad.

The political poverty of such slogans as "stay the course" and of proposals

for polar prisons reflects the Republican dilemma in 1982: how to win elections when your party has defaulted on its promise of prosperity.

But Republican superficiality and absurdity has not been matched by any Democratic profundity. Most Democrats have been content to run simply on their opposition to Reaganomics or their support for the nuclear freeze without clearly specifying what economic or foreign policies they would favor.

The most concerted effort to frame an alternative came last month from the House Democratic Caucus, which released a 135-page manifesto titled *Rebuilding the Road to Opportunity: a Democratic Direction for the 1980s*. The Caucus' statement contained some innovative proposals and the hint of an alternative politics. Its economic program called for a "partnership for growth" between labor, business, universities and government and a "creative role for government." It proposed an "Economic Cooperation Council" to oversee long-term economic strategy. And it stressed the need for infrastructure and educational investments and for policies that would ensure productive investment of the nation's capital.

But on the whole, the Democratic proposals are less catchy and no less contradictory than the Republican proposals of 1980. The Democrats contend that government must undertake substantial social and infrastructure investments, provide business with tax incentives, increase military spending and balance the budget. How this can be done is anybody's guess.

The most remarkable feature of the 1982 campaign has probably been the degree to which the president—who bears the responsibility for the worst unemployment since the Great Depression—has been able to keep the Democratic leadership on the defensive.

With a lack of clear Democratic alternatives, even a substantial Republican defeat in 1982 will have little bearing on the future of American politics or on the tottering American economy.

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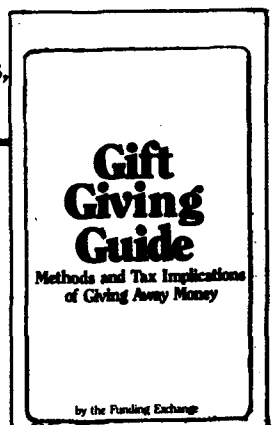
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## UNIONS

# Labor steps up role in the '82 elections

By David Moberg

**W**ITH A STRONG BOOST from his own and other unions last spring, Ironworkers union member and self-proclaimed "fighter" against Reaganomics Anthony "Buzz" Andrezeski defeated the favored Democratic primary contender for Congress, a more conservative Democrat heavily financed by business PACs.

Now, with enthusiastic union support in the depressed northwest corner of Pennsylvania around Erie, Andrezeski is favored to replace outgoing moderate Republican Marc L. Marks, famed for his congressional swan song attack on the Reagan budget "massacre."

Such deep labor involvement in the elections this year is not the rule. But throughout the country there are signs that organized labor is, as many contend, "working harder and smarter." Unions have been involved earlier, working more exclusively for Democrats, occasionally taking a tougher line with wayward conservative Democrats, and attempting both to stir membership involvement in politics and more effectively tailor campaign messages.

The issues have been "jobs, jobs, jobs," according to Iowa AFL-CIO president James Wengert. Job worries seem to have spurred higher levels of volunteer activity, at times from the ranks of the unemployed, which labor leaders take as a signal that union voter turnout will be high on November 2.

By starting earlier, unions this year have played key roles in putting more liberal or left Democrats on the ballot. For example, unions were instrumental in nominating for governor Roxanne Conlin in Iowa, Anthony Earl in Wisconsin, Michael Dukakis in Massachusetts and Mario Cuomo in New York—the latter two involving victories over Ed King and Ed Koch, two of Reagan's favorite Democrats. In Ohio, labor unions helped to oust conservative Democratic Rep. Ronald Mottl in the Cleveland suburbs.

In St. Louis, unions such as the UAW were crucial in defending Congressional Black Caucus member William Clay among white workers newly drawn into his district. Clay was opposed by a white anti-busing, anti-abortion candidate whose slogan was "the long wait is over" and who counted on an anti-black reaction among white workers. Yet such results were not universal: in the sixth district of South Carolina unions successfully backed a more conservative white candidate in the Democratic primary over a liberal black in a district that is 41 percent black.

Just as big corporations have abandoned many of their Democratic friends and drawn closer to the Republicans this year, labor unions have taken sides more uniformly with the Democrats. "This is the first time there wasn't a single Republican in the House that we endorsed," said Jerry Clark, director of political action for AFSCME (state and municipal employees). "Usually there were a dozen or more. But the Republicans just lined up with the president on everything."

UAW northeast region director Ted Barrett likewise said it was "the first time in as many years as I can remember not coming out for a Republican in any statewide or national race. Every one of them has decided to move five or six steps to the right."

Despite closing the circle of wagons with the Democrats, a number of liberal, politically sophisticated unions are becoming more discriminating in support

for unreliable Democrats. "We were rather stern this year," Clark said. "We followed the AFL-CIO line: no money, no endorsement or help for anyone who voted for the balanced budget amendment," a line, incidentally, not so strictly applied by the AFL-CIO.

"In a number of races with conservative Democrats in New Hampshire, Maine and Vermont, we said, 'Good luck, God bless you,' and that's it," Barrett said. "We haven't given them any money because they haven't supported us."

The UAW and some other unions are also targeting their money where it's most needed, because they estimate that their \$12-\$15 million in PAC money this year will be one-tenth what business and conservatives spend. For example, NEA political specialist Skip Roberts said that the teacher group would not only have more to spend this year than in 1980—\$1 million instead of \$400,000—but also spend it differently, targeting 100 marginal races for near the maximum \$10,000 and giving others as little as \$200 instead of dividing the money evenly among 400 candidates as they did in 1980.

In general, however, even renegade Democrats can count on labor backing. One consideration is the power that comes with a party's control of a legislative body. "We had some problems with two or three conservative Democrats," Maine AFL-CIO president Charles O'Leary said, "but when it came right down to the end we decided it was better to have a Democratic House and Senate in the state."

## Attitudes under attack.

In other cases, labor unions feel they have few alternatives or won't try them (and, of course, some unions prefer conservative Democrats or, in the case of the Teamsters and a few others, Republicans). But those attitudes are under attack. Although the state labor federation in Wisconsin backed Sen. William Proxmire, a Democrat who has repeatedly kicked labor's programs in the teeth, the NEA endorsed Republican Scott McCallum, a former McGovern backer and a Reagan critic. Conservative labor leaders were most incensed when AFSCME and District 1199 (hospital workers) endorsed socialist William Hart, running on the new Labor and Farm Party ticket. The teachers union (AFT) is also expected to endorse Hart and other unionists are working for him despite threats from their international officers.

Nearly everywhere unions are reporting meetings double their normal size and an outpouring of volunteers, so many that some campaigns don't know what to do with them. Although the long-term unemployed may drop from many union rolls, others are concentrating on mobilizing the jobless.

"They've got time and they don't have to be convinced," UAW's Illinois director Paul Giblin says. "That's Reagan's army. Aren't they the ones fighting the war on inflation?"

But sometimes the unemployed are depressed and hard to mobilize. Great Lakes Machinist Vice-President Merle Pryor, who has concentrated on reaching the unemployed, argues that "those who have lost benefits, and sometimes their homes and cars, the majority of those people are really turned off to the U.S. But those still on unemployment are concerned about the future. A lot of them are angry, not always at the president, but they know something's going wrong."

Where unions have made a drive for registration—and that has been done only

erratically—the results have been very rewarding. In Maine, unions notarized 65 activists to register voters in the mills, at plant gates and in union halls. In Chicago AFSCME contributed \$5,000 to a voter registration drive on the unemployment and public aid lines that added 40,000 new voters. But many unions remain skeptical of the value of such registration drives.

Get out the vote campaigns, the staples of union political work, are being pressed harder this year. The Machinists have made a massive effort, with letters and follow-up evaluations for every local, a go-vote videotape of President William Winpisinger and a popular pocket fact card on Reaganomics. Building trades on the West Coast are trying to mobilize their often dispersed mem-

## The unions have helped put more liberals on the November ballot.



On October 17, about 5,000 people, many of them striking Caterpillar workers, rallied in recession-hit Peoria, Ill., against President Reagan's economic policies.

bers to request absentee ballots. Throughout the country AFSCME has set up widely admired phone banks, often taking over the job for local central labor bodies or for individual campaigns as well as contacting their own members.

Messages are also more personally drafted. AFSCME will mail 750,000 letters to members with computer-tailored messages to the individual. Each letter has variable paragraphs on local candidates and congressional races, including information on the opponents and voting records of endorsed candidates. Less refined but still a departure, the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education (COPE) has drawn up five different mailings according to union categories, such as industrial workers, public workers or building trades.

Although the new Public Affairs Institute of the AFL-CIO has barely gotten off the ground, COPE has prepared a TV spot and longer ad on unemployment that will be shown in selected

cities. And for the first time AFSCME will be making its own independent purchases of TV time, based on their own polling and analysis of political needs in a few key areas. Those ads will be directed to the general public, not just union members.

Rather than simply send volunteers to work in a Democratic candidate's headquarters this year, the NEA emphasizes efforts to reach its own "marginal, thinking Republican members," Roberts says. Since the NEA typically relies on voluntary membership, persuading such members involves a risk of turning them off to the association as well as more difficult political work.

Union agitation on particular issues also feeds into the campaign. In several races, the UAW-backed local content law on domestic auto production is a hot issue. The Citizen-Labor Energy Coalition and affiliates, such as the Illinois Public Action Council, have been canvassing on utility issues and natural gas deregulation in 10 marginal races, adding solid issue-based reasons for voters to support liberal candidates.

The deep recession has contributed a

surge of commitment added on to the already steadily growing labor political commitment. "It ain't what it could be," one midwest AFSCME leader said, acknowledging how slowly most unions are adapting, "but it ain't what it was either."

Labor leaders hope that members will respond to that effort, give the Democrats a landslide, increase Democratic party obligations to labor and lead to a new direction for the party, which many of them feel is sorely needed.

"We'll probably have the highest percentage of labor votes in history," Barrett said, "and my guess is it will be overwhelmingly Democratic, not because they're impressed with any brilliant ideas the Democrats have come up with but because they realize the phoniness of Reagan and supply side. It will be a vote against Reagan."

If so, Democrats and labor parties will have to ask: just like the 1980 vote against Carter?



## SOCIAL SECURITY

# Showdown coming in the near future

By Jeff Nesbit

**S**Ocial security in recent months has been marching quietly toward a new destiny. But the unnatural silence won't last long.

The issue has temporarily moved out of the budget process, and thus out of the public eye. The President's National Commission on Social Security Reform has been crunching numbers since May, which doesn't provide much for the media gristmill. The 7.4 percent social security cost-of-living adjustment (COLA) slipped into place July 1 without undue fanfare.

Nevertheless, it's high noon for the social security system. President Ronald Reagan is about to face a showdown on one of the issues that jangles his nerves—a public he believes is unnecessarily on the government dole.

A stopgap measure letting social security trust funds borrow from each other to keep the system solvent runs out in December. Reagan's 15-member national commission will probably wrap up its work shortly after the November elections, a Senate spokesman said, when it most likely will hold a conference to kick the conclusions around.

So many reports have predicted that the entire system will go bankrupt by next summer without major revisions that it's almost become a household prophecy. And with the economy staggering under the worst recession in 40 years, the deterioration is likely to accelerate.

## A monster out of control?

Consider these figures:

- The number of older Americans, who make up the bulk of the social security beneficiaries, has nearly tripled in relation to the rest of the population since the system's inception under FDR—from 4 percent in 1935 to 11 percent today.
- The number of workers supporting the system has dwindled from 16 for every recipient in the '30s to an average of two and a half for every recipient today. The amount of social security (FICA) taxes taken out of each paycheck has grown from 1 percent in 1935 to just under 7 percent today, with two more tax hikes scheduled in the next eight years. Like all flat rate taxes, the levy is regressive.
- Social security beneficiaries today receive from five to 14 times the total amount they paid into the system. Workers entering the system today will pay an estimated one-third to half a million dollars during their lifetime before beginning to collect retirement benefits from the government, said Social Security Commissioner John Svahn. But few expect to collect 14 times that amount when they retire in the 21st century.
- Social security benefits increased 205 percent during the last 12 years. During the same period, the Consumer Price Index rose only 149 percent and the average worker's paycheck even less at 121 percent.
- The trust fund surplus—the amount of taxes collected over and above the amount paid in benefits—has shrunk during the past decades from well over 1,000 percent to just 14 percent by the end of 1981. If the system received no more taxes whatsoever, it would only have enough reserves to last for a few months.

To look at just the numbers, social security is a monster out of control. But the country's gross national product—and the economy itself—has grown just as fast. The U.S. has prospered like no other nation since World War II. And while

government operations have amassed a national debt of well over a trillion dollars, social security has run a surplus every year during the same period.

Now, after 46 years of operating with a comfortable cushion, social security is approaching red ink like the rest of the government's activities. The simple, pay-as-you-go accounting system for social security is threatened with bankruptcy, critics say.

Yet, according to its own statistics, the government has been bankrupt for decades. Not since Lyndon Johnson has the budget been balanced, and then the figures jived only because Johnson used a \$30 billion social security surplus to push the budget into the black. The balanced budget was only on paper, of course. Social security trust funds can't be transferred to the Treasury for general use, but in a unified budget the fund's surplus has perennially been used to bring the deficit down.

## Or a workable program?

So the question is not whether social security has stopped working. The question is whether the country plans to give the system additional support—the kind it affords other government operations—to keep it running smoothly into the next century. In this light, the raw numbers on social security tend to obscure the real issue; namely, are taxpayers willing to commit themselves to another 30 or 40

years of rising taxes in order to support an expanding elderly population?

years of rising taxes in order to support an expanding elderly population? delivers its conclusions in November and the interfund borrowing deadline runs out a month later.

Sen. Bob Dole (R-Kan.) wrote a letter in early September to Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker (R-Tenn.) asking for a special "lame-duck" session of Congress to deal with the impending crisis. But Dole's plea was gently rebuffed by Baker. Michael McCurry, a spokesman for the ranking minority member of the Senate's social security subcommittee, Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.), said, "Baker indicated he thought there was some sense of agreement in Congress [about dealing with social security following the November elections], but that the new session of Congress early in January, like the first week, would probably be better."

That way, McCurry said, Congress could debate the issue without election pressures while avoiding allegations that a lame-duck session on social security was a cruel political ploy. As it stands now, it's a sure bet that social security will be the first thing on the congressional calendar following November 2 elections.

In the middle of all the political rhetoric about when and how to change the social security system, one question has largely been ignored: why? Why the sense of urgency, especially when experts say the most serious problems with the system aren't really expected to hit the nation until next century?

"There is no crisis in social security," Moynihan bluntly charged on the Senate floor earlier this year, despite repeated predictions that the system could run a deficit as high as \$111 billion during the next five years. Moynihan made this charge despite actuarial reports that show the system's largest trust fund—the Old-Age and Survivor's Insurance fund—could hit rock-bottom for the first time in 46 years by January at the earliest, or the winter of 1983 at the latest.

The numbers may be debatable, but

out of balance, and nothing has been done down through the years except such things as in 1977—the gigantic social security tax increase that was passed, that we were told would make the problem solvent to the year 2015. And it already can't get through 1983."

The author of this statement was a retired actor in 1964 when he first accused the system of being out of sorts by roughly \$300 billion or so. Eighteen years later, the actor holds center stage as this country's most powerful political figure. His politics haven't changed. But Ronald Reagan's influence has. And his opinion is shaping others'.

"There are basically two reasons why he [Reagan] sees a crisis in social security," said McCurry. Reagan never liked the idea of social security to begin with. Now he sees it as a system that can be broken or altered." The other reason, he said, is that the administration has no choice but to attack entitlement programs to bring the deficit down.

In a series of speeches across the country in recent months, the president has given the same message on social security—those already dependent will be spared the agony of budget surgery, but the rest of the country must be weaned off the system. His game plan is to force young people now entering the system to plan for their own retirement.

"The possibility exists that young people today may find that their social security tax is so high [especially after the next scheduled hike in 1985] that they could never expect to get from social security what they pay in," Reagan said last May. "They would be better off if they had that money in their own hands to buy a retirement policy."

Reagan outlined some bold proposals last year to restructure the system and promptly backed off in the face of a public backlash. But the proposals remain on the table. Reagan's social security task force is sure to give them serious consideration. A third of the members were appointed by Reagan and another third by Baker. Though the remaining one-third, appointed by House Speaker Tip O'Neill, gives the commission a bipartisan air, the balance is undoubtedly tipped to the right.

The Social Security Administration recently dropped an unwelcome bombshell on the task force. It announced that it needed to borrow at least \$1 to \$2 billion to make it through November. That only fuels the rhetorical fires raging over the impending social security disaster.

But unfortunately for the country, there's some political doublespeak going on. If the economy rebounds as Reagan has predicted, with unemployment shrinking and business retooling, then social security will recover as well. Reagan has suggested that the constant pressure from benefit COLAs will be eased by the imminent economic recovery. Meanwhile, as a solution to the short-range problems with social security, he's advocated a temporary ceiling on the cost-of-living adjustment.

When Reagan and the Senate Budget Committee predicted that social security would need \$40 billion in cuts to survive through 1985, it caused such an uproar that social security was taken out of the unified budget discussion entirely. Then the president's thinking was that everyone should just cool down and wait for the National Commission's conclusions.

But the footnote to this seemingly logical move is that it may now be impossible to keep social security solvent with general funds. As long as social security is off-budget, the liberal Democratic solution to the system's short-range dilemma—to support a small portion of social security with general taxes—cannot be used.

With its back to the wall, Congress basically will have two choices when it comes back to work after the elections—either raise taxes or cut benefits. If the choice were left to the administration, the public has heard the answer on-and-off for 18 years. Who knows? Maybe the fad of the '80s will become burning social security cards.

Jeff Nesbit is editor of *Public Citizen*, a national public interest magazine.



Beneficiaries today receive five to 14 times the amount they paid into Social Security.

years of rising taxes in order to support an expanding elderly population?

The impending debate, only a month or two away at most, will eventually center on how to keep the system afloat. Liberals would like to see a portion of the progressive income taxes in the general fund used—a proposal that's anathema to conservatives. Reagan proposed last year to freeze COLAs temporarily and cap future benefits, leading to an eventual cut in social security taxes. He also proposed to discourage early retirement through spending cuts. Either way—through alternate revenue forms or spending cuts—the dam will likely break when Reagan's social security task force

one thing isn't: public confidence in the system is fading fast. Polls show three-fourths of the workers entering the system don't believe they'll ever see a penny come back to them once they've retired.

So, too, is public commitment fading. Though many say social security has been the country's most successful social program, it's credibility is being seriously challenged. To understand why, listen to one of the system's most ardent detractors, a voice that has railed against social security for nearly 20 years:

"There has been an actuarial imbalance in social security [for years]. The first time I publicly called attention to it was in 1964. And it was then \$300 billion



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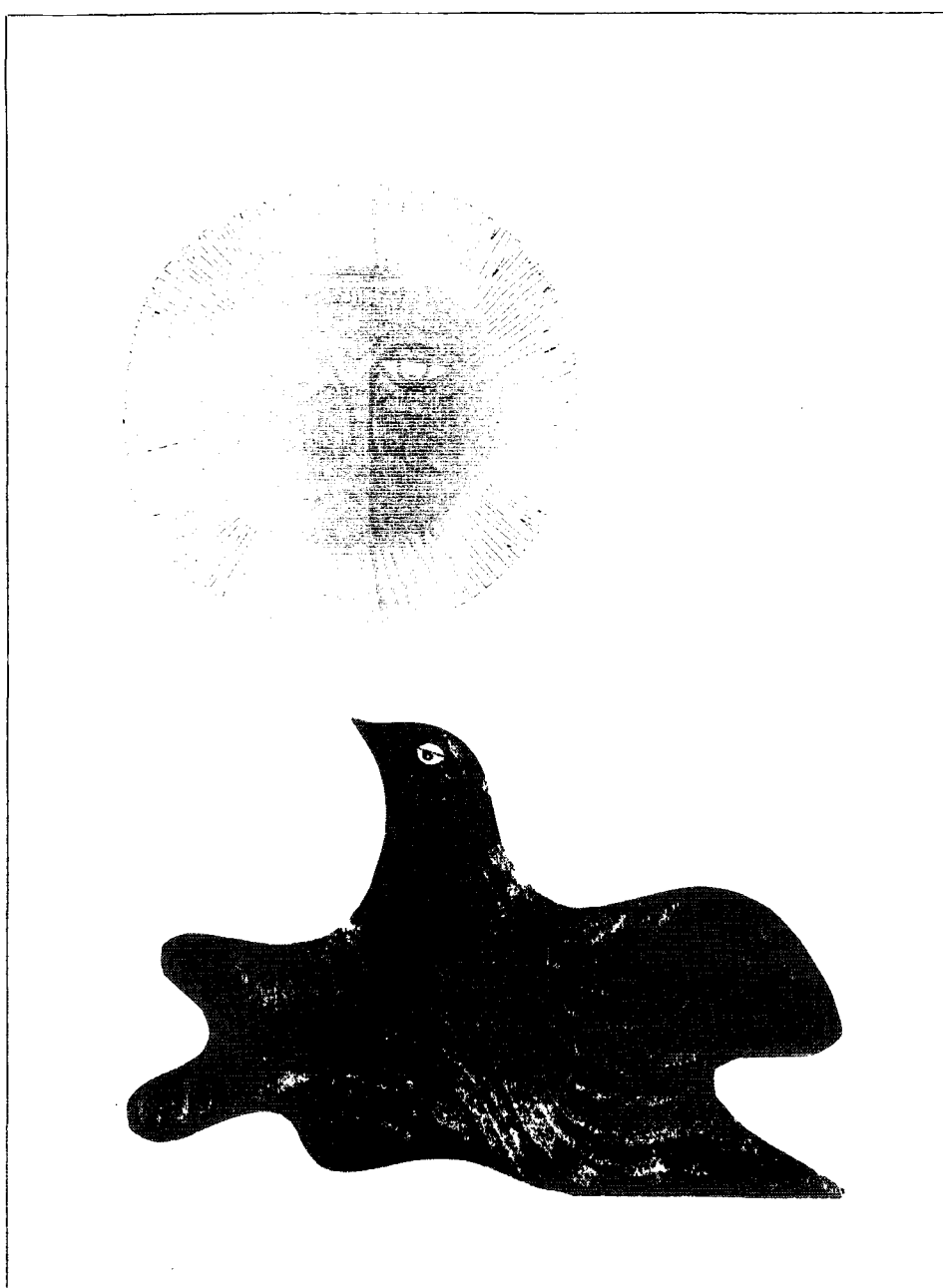
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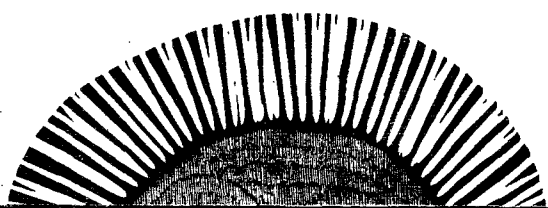
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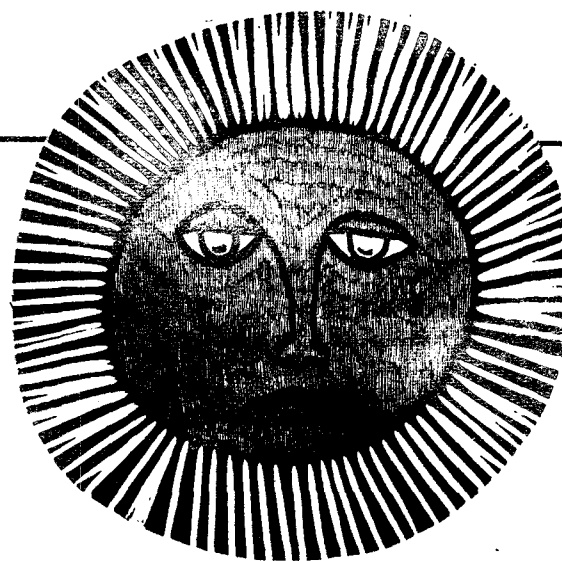
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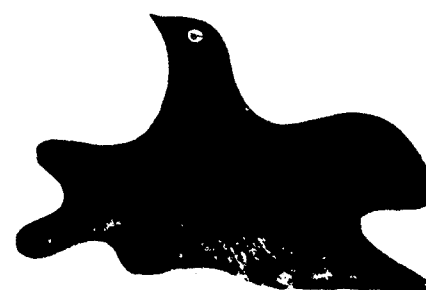
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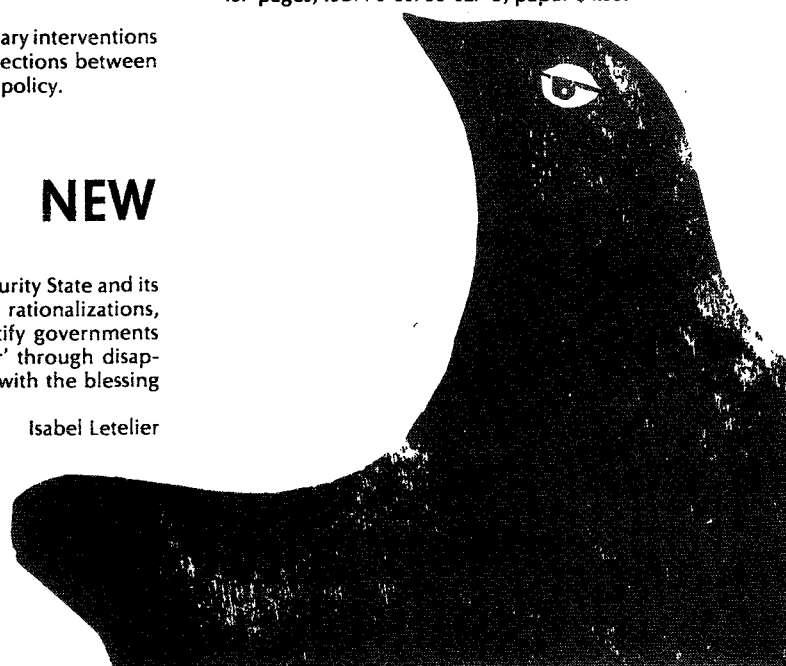
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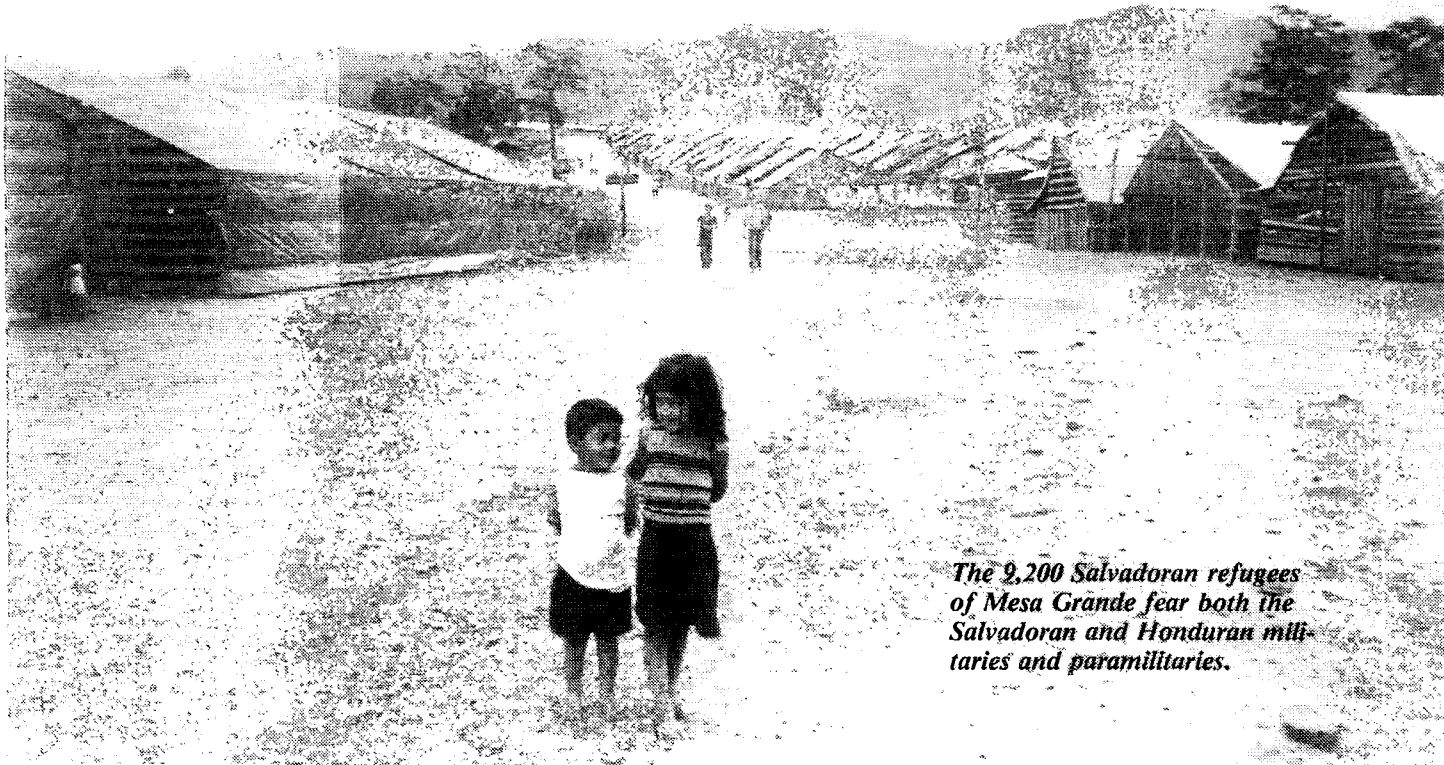
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J.H. Evans

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By J.H. Evans and Jack Epstein

HONDURAS, ON THE SUMPUL BORDER WITH EL SALVADOR

**N**IGHT FELL TOO QUICKLY for the six international United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) observers who were lost and stumbling along the steep mountain slopes of this region.

They were here to protect Salvadoran refugees crossing the border and had been expected to arrive at a small hamlet an hour earlier, but they were unfamiliar with the trails and terrain. When darkness arrived, they were exhausted and uncertain. The official in charge prohibited the use of flashlights because he feared an attack from either Honduran or Salvadoran paramilitaries, and yet he insisted on continuing until he spotted the village.

Finally they were forced to stop, unaware they were a mere 100 yards from their destination. "This is bad," said the leader. "There's a good chance they will lob mortars onto us in the morning."

The others looked at each other. "Who will?" one asked incredulously.

"The ones who know we are here," he answered.

In the morning word was sent through a clandestine communications network to the refugees who were hiding in forests on both sides of the river. The informants weren't sure how many there were, but in any case they would not be ready until two days later.

Wishing to avoid possible reprisals from paramilitaries, the group opted to return to the reception center 10 miles away, and then walked back to the town the following day and spent an exposed and paranoid night near a schoolhouse—a move to ensure that peasants could not be harassed for extending hospitality to the UN representatives.

At dawn they met 113 refugees, mostly hungry and frightened women and children. After distributing food and water and attending to the sick, the observers led the new arrivals on a five-hour hike to trucks waiting to take them to Mesa Grande, home for 9,200 Salvadoran refugees in six tent villages spread across a high pine-dotted plateau 35 miles from the border.

Whether the intense fear involved in the maneuver was real or imagined—no UNHCR workers have been harmed although other relief volunteers have been attacked—the episode illustrates the climate of impending violence under which UNHCR "protection officers" perform their duties. This atmosphere of threat

appears to stem from a Honduran army command attitude that marks all Salvadoran refugees as either active insurgents or providers of clandestine material support.

"The Salvadoran refugees continue to be a danger to our national security," Major Alejandro Castro Lopez, chief of staff of the 12th Army Battalion (headquartered near Mesa Grande), commented recently to the conservative daily *La Tribuna*, "because they collaborate with the guerrillas of that country."

Soldiers have warned residents in towns around reception centers and along the border not to help or cooperate with refugees or international representatives. "The military sees them as guerrillas first and refugees second," explained a relief worker who, like most others, asked that his name not be used. "And since we provide food and other support, we are seen as guerrilla collaborators."

Thus, the volunteers fear possible attacks from the Honduran soldiers. Late in 1980, two Honduran CARITAS (a relief agency responsible for food distribution) employees were murdered near the border, and last June outside El Tesoro, a camp for Guatemalan refugees, two relief workers were arrested by the military. One, a Guatemalan doctor, was murdered, and the other, a nurse from the U.S., was physically abused before being turned over to the U.S. Embassy.

## On a tightrope.

"We are walking a tightrope," said one UNHCR representative. "Our situation fluctuates according to the political situation."

Relief officials, including Charles Bazoche, head of the UNHCR mission in Honduras, said they have periodically been denied access to refugee camps and reception centers, especially when Honduran military operations are underway. In one incident, UNHCR observers were placed under house arrest at a center for two weeks, while Honduran soldiers patrolled border villages.

"It's a war zone," said one of the observers who was arrested. "They know it and we know it."

The volatility of the area gives rise to the dread relief workers feel when venturing into the region. For the most part they fear interference by Honduran and Salvadoran paramilitaries—the latter known to operate frequently on the Honduran side.

Many are said to be members of ORDEN, an outlawed right-wing Salvadoran campesino organization, who have some military training and act as informants for both the Honduran and Salvadoran

armies. According to several sources, ORDEN members live among the Mesa Grande population, as well as along the border. Generally, however, they do not seek UNHCR aid and tend to return to El Salvador quickly.

The increased military presence at the border is reportedly the consequence of a cooperation pact between the Honduran and Salvadoran armies and is believed to be the reason for the transfer of refugees in November 1981, from La Virtud, a former camp and now a reception center. (Bazoche insists that the decision to move from La Virtud came from UNHCR and was done for the safety and well-being of the refugees.)

Refugees who were living in La Virtud at that time recalled that the threats and killings at the hands of Salvadoran sol-

diers and paramilitaries occurred after the decision to relocate. "There was an order to militarize the area," said one refugee. "The two armies worked together to harass us, to force us to leave. For us, both armies are the same."

While Honduran officials deny the charge and UNHCR administrators regard it as an exaggeration, it is evident that arriving refugees fear contact with Honduran soldiers unless observers are present. Many—if not all—of them will not cross the river until receiving word that UNHCR representatives are waiting, recalling the May 1980 Sumpul massacre of more than 600 refugees by the Salvadoran and Honduran armies.

But even when the international representatives are present, the refugees are often harassed. The 113 who were hiking toward the reception center were stopped by soldiers and searched for two hours. Their belongings were dumped onto the dirt and examined. A Honduran paramilitary, who appeared to be in charge of the squad, attempted to interrogate the refugees, in violation of signed agreements. But UNHCR employees stopped him.

UNHCR's position appears to be so delicate that although it formally complains about this type of treatment, it can do little to force a change in army policy.

Inside Mesa Grande, the refugees' ordeal continues. Dislike for the soldiers who walk through the camp daily and patrol their borders at night is intense among both refugees and relief volunteers. Refugees accuse them of intimidation, beatings, robberies, attempted rapes and even a recent killing.

The refugees are not allowed to leave the camp except to work in the fields or to go shopping every Sunday for two hours in nearby San Marcos. Only 15 persons from each of the six villages are allowed to go on the market trips, and persons leaving the camp must be accompanied by either soliders or relief workers.

In spite of their complaints about shortages of food, drinking water and medicine and their inability to earn money to augment their daily diet of beans, rice and tortillas (80 percent reportedly suffer from malnutrition), the refugees are united in their resistance to a UNHCR plan to move them from Mesa Grande onto land further inside Honduras. Arguing that the camp can only accommodate 2,500 to 3,000 persons, the UNHCR has already chosen farm sites and is arranging for the purchase of enough acreage to make more than 7,000 refugees self-sufficient.

Some refugee committee leaders said they are suspicious of the UNHCR plan because of past promises that never materialized. Others expressed doubts about security in smaller communities, asking that if the military treats them badly when they are united, how will they be treated when they are separated?

"We don't want to leave," said a committee leader. "UNHCR wants to buy land for us, but they will have to kick Honduran campesinos off first. So how do you think we will be received?"

Bazoche denied that any Honduran campesinos will be affected by the relocation, and said communities from Mesa Grande will not be dispersed. "It is important to salvage the natural cooperative structures of the refugees. Their villages will continue to exist." He explained that each family will have access to 3.5 acres.

Yet, regardless of their resistance, the move is more attractive to refugees than the option of returning to El Salvador. It is still a tough pill to swallow. "The Honduran government is our enemy," summed up one committee member. "They have us here because of business reasons and not because of conscience, and under those circumstances, we would prefer to relocate to another country."

**Next week:** Evans and Epstein report on the activities in Honduras of Misura, the exiled Miskito Indian organization led by Steadman Fagoth Mueller.

J.H. Evans and Jack Epstein are journalists in Central America on grants from the Fund for Investigative Journalism and The Circle Fund.



J.H. Evans



# LETTERS

*In These Times* is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

## WHY NO PUBLISHER?

**D**IANA JOHNSTONE'S LATEST OPUS on the perfidiousness of the Jews (*ITT*, Sept. 22) is straining my patience as a subscriber and supporter of *In These Times*. Without prejudging the content of Livia Rokach's "study" of Moshe Sharett's diaries, one can honestly ask why Rokach couldn't get a single publisher to produce her work? Was it the result of the international Jewish publisher's conspiracy, or was it because Rokach couldn't produce any evidence (like Sharett's diaries?) to convince a single publisher that what she was selling would stand up to a libel suit? Why didn't she just publish the diaries?

Does Johnstone need proof that Jews have real enemies in the world? Perhaps she should leave her garrett in Paris and travel to Anne Frank's house in Amsterdam, then head south to Munich and take the subway to Dachau. From there she can cross over to Poland and visit Auschwitz, then head east to Kiev and, if the Soviet authorities will permit, visit the pits of Babi Yar. These places are not about something that happened a long time ago; they are about events that happened only yesterday. Perhaps she believes that all the leaders of all the Arab countries permitted Moshe Dayan to orchestrate their 35-year campaign of rhetoric and war aimed at destroying the State of Israel and pushing the Jews into the sea? What does the PLO charter say about the fate of the State of Israel? Did the Mapai Party write the PLO charter too?

The Jewish people are not imbeciles. We make terrible mistakes like everyone else, but we haven't survived 4,000 years just to be led back into barbarism by a handful of Israeli politicians. Four hundred thousand people in the streets of Tel Aviv ought to show that at least our people are still using the brains and

souls given to us and asking questions when facile answers will not do.

—Ira Kulklin  
Berkeley, Calif.

## ROME ATTACK

**T**ERRORISTS LOBBED GRENADES AND opened fire with submachine-guns onto a group of people in Rome on October 9. Their offense? They were Jews, leaving the main synagogue in Rome after celebrating Shemini Atzeret, a holiday when children are given a special blessing. The attack left a two-year old boy dead and dozens of people wounded.

We are outraged at the attack on Italian Jews, especially since it is not an isolated anti-Semitic outburst. It follows recent shootings of Jews and bombings of Jewish institutions in Milan, Vienna, Paris and London and brings the toll of European Jews killed or wounded in the past few months to 100.

Chicago Friends of Peace Now is a movement of Jews fighting for Mideast peace based on respect for the lives of Israelis and Palestinians and the rights of both peoples to self-determination and security. Let all those who—like us—expressed their outrage at the massacres in Beirut express their outrage now. Let all those who—like us—insisted on an investigation of that slaughter of Palestinians now insist on an investigation of this despicable wave of attacks on Jews. And let all those who—like us—urge universal recognition of Palestinian national rights demand universal recognition of Israel.

For centuries, Jews have been murdered and slandered, and anti-Semites have used every form of religious, economic and political justification imaginable. We call on everyone of good will to speak and act in defense of Jewish life. Anyone interested in our work can write Chicago Friends of Peace Now,

1323 W. Albion, Chicago, IL 60626.

—Robert Skeist  
Coordinator,  
Chicago Friends of Peace Now

## MIDEAST SQUATTERS?

**I** WOULD LIKE TO CONGRATULATE *In These Times* for its coverage of the Mideast, which is easily the best I have come across. I find the articles by Diana Johnstone and Claudia Wright very instructive and perceptive, and it is refreshing to actually read an article about Palestine by a Palestinian (Edward Said, *ITT*, Sept. 8)—a rare occurrence.

I have difficulty understanding the argument that there are two national movements struggling for one piece of land (Arieh Lebowitz, *ITT*, Sept. 29). The Jewish population of Palestine was very small in the 19th century, and after immigration from Europe was 10 percent of the total in 1917. It was still only 30 percent by 1947. Since then, of course, a large part of the Palestinian population has been displaced to form a Jewish majority. This does not seem to me to be nationalism, but simply colonialism. This European movement decided that another people's land was theirs, and proceeded to take it away from them.

Your editorial position is that the Palestinians should have their own state on the West Bank and Gaza Strip. But that is only a part of Palestine. Would you or the left Zionists advocate such a two-state solution for South Africa? Or what would you have done for Zimbabwe or Algeria?

—Bob Burbidge  
New York

## TERROR BOMBINGS

**P**ERETZ KIDRON'S REPORT (*ITT*, OCT. 6) on Israel was a fine, even-handed presentation of the facts surrounding the Beirut pogrom. I do believe that there is too little recognition of the awful significance of the earlier bombings by the Israel Defense Forces. The PLO military was not much hurt by this but thousands of civilians were killed and wounded and their homes destroyed. How did this differ from the terror bombings of the Nazis?

After exposing the direct complicity of the Israel government with the pogrom, Kidron concludes that "Begin retains the allegiance of broad sections of Israeli opinion." Let us hope this is not true or all the world will reject the Israeli people as barbarians. What also of the Jews outside of Israel if they do not repudiate such an outrage?

—Samuel Garnett  
Los Angeles

## A CHANGE OF PRINCIPLES

**Y**OUR "IN DEPTH" (*ITT*, OCT. 6) SAYS much that needs saying in these days of Reaganomics, when the average citizen knows not which way to turn, let alone, vote! What Tony Mazzocchi tells us is that a change in our thinking is needed: income, not full employment is the issue. Some of the billions going for "defense," if instead, went into the hands of workers who produce the wealth, much of industrial injustice would disappear. The only hitch here is the lack of integrity and purpose of these same workers. Such articles as the above, if they should reach the multitudes, would do wonders.

—Cora G. Chase  
Vaughn, Wash.

## THEY DO HAVE CULTURE

**B**ARBARA GARSON'S ARTICLE ON Canadian theater (*ITT*, Sept. 29) provided some interesting insights for those of us unexposed to Canadian culture.

I traveled to Canada for the first time this summer and, contrary to what Garson found in Stratford, I saw a good deal of native Canadian culture.

The most impressive example was in Charlottown, Prince Edward Island, at the annual Charlottown Festival. In addition to the delightful Canadian classic of "Anne of Green Gables," there was the fine musical production of Canadian artists called "Singing and Dancing Tonight."

The newsstands also contained numerous magazines such as *Atlantic Insight* that contained short stories and poetry of Canadian writers.

On the whole, I was impressed by the pride Canadians showed in their own culture.

—William P. Morrissey  
Jacksonville, Fla.

## A BELATED WORD FOR ANARCHISM

**I**F WE ARE TO BELIEVE PAT AUFDERHEIDE's review (*ITT*, June 16) *Anarchism in America* is not a very good film. However, Aufderheide also seems intent on having us believe that anarchism is an interesting life-style but a trivial, ineffective form of politics.

For whatever faults the film had, we cannot afford summarily to dismiss anarchism, particularly in light of the elitist and authoritarian tendencies found among the left. Some of Aufderheide's and, apparently, the film's misimpressions about anarchism can be rectified by a careful reading of anarchist writers such as Murray Bookchin and Noam Chomsky as well as by a close analysis of anarchist protests and action.

—Thomas W. Simon  
Gainesville, Fla.

## KNOWS FROM EXPERIENCE

**E**NCLOSED IS A SMALL CONTRIBUTION. You certainly deserve more, but it's the best I can do now.

I'm a new subscriber and want you to know just how invaluable your paper has become for me. As a journalist, formerly employed by a "straight" daily newspaper, I know only too well from first-hand experience what's missing (and ignored) in the mainstream press, especially in international coverage. *In These Times* fills that gap with integrity and credibility.

—Marilynn J. Taylor  
St. Paul, Minn.

*Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.*

## Next week in *ITT*

When the federal budget ax strikes, nothing is sacred—not even the arts. Significant cuts at both the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities have forced large and small organizations to compete for an ever-shrinking piece of the funding pie.

How do these cuts affect the arts? Are corporations and local governments stepping in to take up the slack or will small arts groups be muscled out by the heavyweights of the art world? Can experimental or controversial arts groups survive as Mobil Oil and other corporations become the arts patrons of the '80s?

In the next issue of *ITT*, our 6th anniversary issue, writer John S. Friedman charts the top arts donors for 1981. This special study includes the state and city governments as well as corporations and foundations whose money fuels the arts today.

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# PERSPECTIVES

By Manning Marable

**O**F ALL THE OPPONENTS to blacks' civil rights in the '60s, none equaled George C. Wallace in racial hatred and demagoguery. He was the personification of bigotry and white supremacy.

Yet on September 29 of this year, that symbol of racism won an election in the Alabama Democratic primary, and will probably be elected governor of that state in November for an unprecedented fourth term. In a narrow race with a liberal Democrat, Lt. Gov. George McMillan, Wallace succeeded in carrying one-third of the state's black voters and won the election by that margin.

In the campaign the overwhelming majority of black elected officials supported McMillan. But Wallace was able to co-opt the majority of conservative rural black preachers into his cause, who in turn urged their congregations to "forget the past" and "to forgive Wallace" by casting their votes for him. When Mrs. Coretta Scott King and other civil rights activists stomped the state for McMillan, black ministers denounced her as "an outside agitator." Incredibly, several majority-black counties—the sites of the bloodiest civil rights demonstrations—cast majorities for Wallace. The former governor even received 30 to 40 percent of the black vote in Montgomery, the state capital.

For civil rights observers, the renaissance of Wallace is nothing short of a political nightmare. Such interpretations fail to take into account Wallace's chameleon-like ability to reverse himself according to the prevailing political conditions. During the recent campaign, for instance, Wallace not only defended Mrs. King's right to campaign against him, but also noted to the press that "one or both of Mrs. King's elderly parents, who live in Marion, Ala., planned to vote for him."

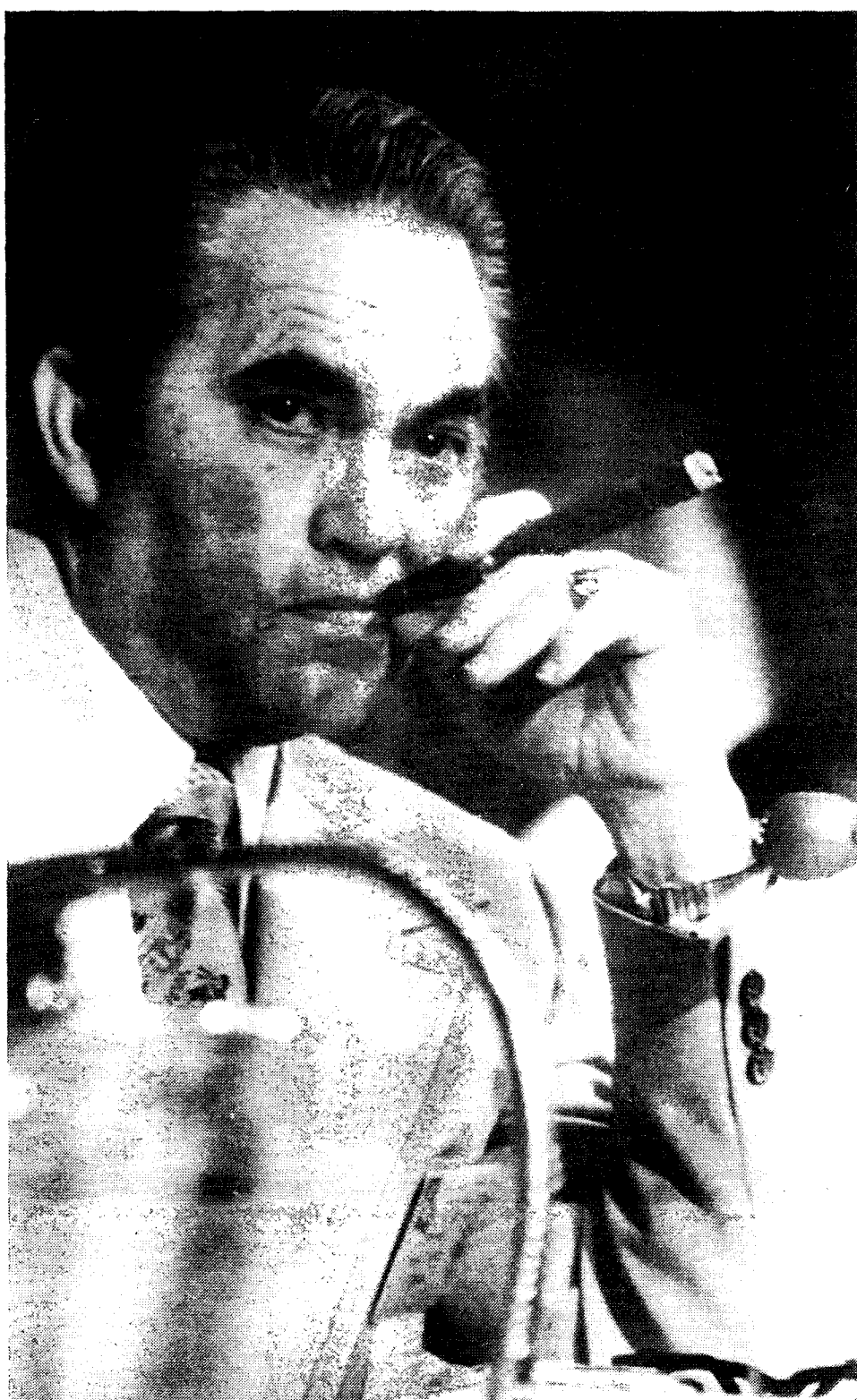
To understand Wallace's recent victory, it is necessary to look at his political career over the past 40 years. In the '40s, Alabama was a strictly segregated society. Yet the state's white electorate, in the tradition of Southern Populism, put several relatively enlightened public officials into office.

Compared to the vitriolic demagogues of neighboring Mississippi, particularly Theodore Bilbo, Alabama Senators Lister Hill and Hugo Black and Governor James Folsom were infinitely better. They were all segregationists, but they advanced economic programs that benefited poor blacks and whites alike. Wallace first emerged as a protégé of Folsom, being elected as a state representative from rural Barbour County.

For about 12 years Wallace served as Folsom's alter-ego, managing his successful re-election campaign in southern Alabama in 1954. In return for his support, Wallace asked Folsom to appoint him to the board of trustees at Tuskegee Institute.

"It was considered a very liberal move at the time," one prominent white politician recalled years later. "Naturally, nobody was thinking about race back then like they got to thinking about it later, but it was still considered very liberal of him to establish this contact with the Negro community. And he was real proud of this connection with Tuskegee; he'd tell everybody about it. Anybody'd said back then he would be where he is today on this racial question, we'd of thought they were crazy."

During his first decade in Alabama politics, Wallace established himself on the left-wing of the Democratic Party on the race question. A populist on economic issues, Wallace urged his white constituents to consider the plight of



In his bid for re-election, George Wallace has co-opted conservative black preachers to his cause.

## George Wallace rises again with help from blacks

blacks in the same terms as their own.

After his election as circuit judge, Wallace subsequently announced his candidacy for governor in 1958. His principal opponent was a "stridently irreconcilable segregationist" named John Patterson. When Patterson accepted the support of the Ku Klux Klan, Wallace issued a sharp denunciation of the racist group. Endorsed by labor, Jewish organizations and the state's NAACP chapter, Wallace lost the runoff election to Patterson by 64,902 votes. After his defeat, Wallace informed his supporters: "John Patterson out-niggered me. And boys, I'm not goin' to be out-niggered again."

The ambitious politician who had once told friends that "we just can't keep the colored folks down like we been doin' for years and years" suddenly became a raving demagogue—more outrageous than Bilbo, Patterson, Vardaman and the entire motley host of racist leaders throughout Southern history. In the election of 1962, Wallace's entire campaign denounced "carpetbaggin'"

*Wallace vowed that he would never again be "out-niggered."*

and "race-mixin'." Anyone who opposed him was "a nigger-lover, a pinko or a Communist." He attacked liberals as "sissy-britches intellectual morons," and was swept into office as governor.

At his inauguration in January 1963, Wallace declared, "From this very heart of the great Anglo-Saxon Southland, in the name of the greatest people that have trod this earth, I say, Segregation now! Segregation tomorrow! Segregation forever!"

From 1963-1967 and 1971-1979, Wallace reigned as the state's governor. His first wife, Lurleen, was elected to the post

in 1966. During most of these years, he fostered what Wallace biographer Marshall Frady terms "a totalitarian society." Wallace "left Alabama with a single provincial vision of itself in the nation and the world, and a single ruthless expectation for unanimity—not only in ideas but also in habits, in morality, even in dress. Most youngsters in Alabama classrooms regarded any deviation from short hair and neatly pressed clothes as a sign of perversion." *Mein Kampf* became "the Bible of Alabama," and friends and foes of Wallace drew parallels between the governor and Hitler. Wallace gleefully appointed semi-literates into positions of public responsibility and bragged openly that one of his appointees as a state college president barely "just did finish the sixth grade." In public statements, he suggested that the U.S. was "maneuvered into fighting the enemies of communism" in World War II. Wallace regretted "fighting against those anti-Communist nations. Hell, we should have been in those trenches with the Germans...fightin' the Bolsheviks."

Wallace's sordid career in national politics is quite familiar and can be summarized briefly. In 1964, 1968 and 1972 he was a major factor in the presidential races. Nearly 10 million Americans voted for him in an independent presidential campaign in 1968, comprising 13.5 percent of the electorate. In the Democratic primary elections of 1972, he carried a 42 percent plurality in Florida, and also won in Michigan and Maryland.

It is entirely possible that had Wallace not been shot and paralyzed during this campaign that he would have become the Democratic Party's vice-presidential candidate, perhaps with conservative Senator Henry Jackson at the top of the ticket.

As it was, Wallace's focus returned to state politics. Retiring in 1979, after serving three terms as governor, most black and liberal white Southerners breathed a sigh of relief—until this fall.

If it is possible to say anything positive about the Wallace legacy in Alabama, one must admit that his administration carried out substantial liberal socioeconomic reforms in the state. Wallace was far more liberal than the "New South" governor of Georgia, Jimmy Carter. In 10 years, he established 14 new junior colleges, 15 trade schools and greatly expanded the size of Alabama's social services to the poor. By 1976 the proportion of the state's labor force employed by state government and social service programs was 34 percent—the second highest ratio in the U.S. Wallace's advocacy of social spending was a key factor in the 1982 election.

But a more disturbing issue remains. While in office, Wallace inspired a reign of lynchings, murders and police brutality against blacks. His epigones raped and bludgeoned blacks with legal impunity—in the name of white supremacy. In a very real sense, Wallace is responsible for the bombing of the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church in Birmingham in 1958, which killed four little black girls. After all the human sufferings, Wallace stands before the black electorate, asking for the remission of his bloody crimes.

As heirs to a rich tradition of black faith and forgiveness, black Alabamians should have replied: "Yes, we can forgive you. And to show your commitment to us, we will allow you to sweep the streets of Birmingham's black community. Or raise money for a black school; or work as an orderly in a rural black hospital. We forgive you, but under no conditions will we entrust you with our votes. Never again will you be allowed to occupy the most minor position of civil authority over our lives. We can forgive, but we will never forget."

Manning Marable is Director of the Race Relations Institute at Fisk University.



# PERSPECTIVES

## Gen. Matti Peled discusses Israel's recent policy

By Alexander Cockburn  
and James Ridgeway

**A**MONG THE BEST-KNOWN Israeli doves regularly traveling to the U.S. in recent years has been General Matti Peled. Now in charge of Arab studies at the University of Tel Aviv, he served in the Israeli Defense Force between 1947 and 1969. In 1956, after the Sinai campaign, he was commander of the Southern Territory. In 1957 he was appointed governor of the Gaza Strip and of the Jerusalem area. In 1959 he became a member of the General Staff, and in 1967 he fought in the Sinai.

In recent years he has been deeply involved in efforts to initiate an Israeli-Palestinian dialogue. He has long argued that Israel can coexist, within its pre-1967 borders, with a Palestinian state. In the spring of 1981 we interviewed him, in a conversation with two West Bank Palestinian mayors. In a moment of pessimism toward the end of the colloquy, he remarked that it was quite possible for Israel to "sink deeper and deeper into a situation that is simply insoluble. In fact there are already good doves in Israel who feel that we have crossed the Rubicon—there is no way back...."

This was just before Begin was re-elected to office. Last week, Matti Peled passed through New York. What follow are his preliminary remarks at an informal session held in Columbia one recent Saturday afternoon:

"A lot of people seemed surprised when the invasion of Lebanon took place, although the intention to invade

had been expressed by Israeli officials with great frankness, ever since the ceasefire agreement in June 1981, arranged by Philip Habib between Israel and, essentially, the PLO. Sharon was particularly active in looking for excuses to break the ceasefire, sometimes to the point of making himself quite ridiculous, as when he called a big press conference to maintain that three infiltrators who were arrested trying to enter Israel from Jordan constituted a threat to Israel's security.

By September 1981, no one in Israel doubted that there was going to be a war. There were even articles giving outlines of its probable course and goals. And we now know that by September—from what Sharon has said—the probable war was seriously discussed by both the Israeli and American governments. Apparently the turning point came when the Americans accepted the Israeli argument that the ceasefire agreement applied all over the world: thus some act against an Israeli institution or personality would suffice. In an interview Sharon gave after the invasion, he repeated that everything had been discussed with the American government, and that it had been agreed that in the event of an act of terror, Israel had the right to attack. They he was asked, 'Did you also agree on the date,' and he said, 'No. How could we know when it would happen,' which aroused in some people the suspicion that maybe the whole thing was not so accidental.

Once the decision to start the war was taken, all opposition previously expressed by the Labor Party disappeared, and it immediately backed the government. The excuse was of course made

that this only applied to the initial goals of the war: the secure area of 40 kilometers. For anyone who was there, it was clear right away that there was a tremendous disproportion between a goal of 40 kilometers and the number of Israeli forces involved. Probably three infantry brigades and some artillery would have sufficed, against 6,000 guerrillas in the 40-by-60 kilometer area.

But the forces mobilized for this war were greater than those used against the Egyptians in 1967: something like three to four armored divisions—which in terms of relative strength would have sufficed to go all the way to Turkey. So when the Labor Party endorsed the invasion, looking at the numbers involved, it knew that the army was going all the way to Beirut, as discussed in plans circulating for months. The minimum goal would be to go all the way to Beirut; if possible eliminate physically the PLO; establish a friendly government in Lebanon; expel all Palestinians from the occupied area; annex certain parts up to the Litani; push the Syrians out.

### *The vulnerability of Israel to the U.S. is greater than ever before.*

The question asked after a couple of months was whether any of these goals had been achieved. Elimination of the PLO was not possible. The Syrians suffered some defeats but were not pushed out of Lebanon completely. The possibility of establishing a friendly government was there, but as everyone knows, after the election of Bashir Gemayel he had second thoughts about many things. In difficult discussions between him, Begin and Sharon, it became clear that he did not intend to fulfill all Israel's expectations.

So far as the expulsion of Palestinians from south Lebanon is concerned, the situation is not clear. There is much conflicting evidence about what has happened. I suppose that there is a quiet tragedy going on for over 100,000 refugees, without anyone paying any attention. Precautions are being taken by the Israelis not to allow people to travel freely in south Lebanon, to find out what is happening.

But I must say that it was clear that in order to effect a real exodus (of Palestinians) there would have to be a second Deir Yassin on a larger scale in Lebanon. (The Deir Yassin was a massacre of 240 Palestinian men, women and children in 1948 by the Irgun.) Again, the fact that this came as a surprise to the whole world is

one of the most inexplicable things to me, because Israel is open to guests and reporters, and the situation in Israel is known in detail abroad. About a year ago a certain person well known in Israel, a former chief of intelligence Yariv, stated in a colloquium held in Jerusalem that he had first-hand knowledge that there were files, including detailed plans to bring about a massive exodus of Palestinians from the occupied territories.

Since we are talking about a government headed by Begin, there was no doubt in anybody's mind that the same technique would be applied in Lebanon. To me it was so clear that in interviews I gave in Paris in the middle of August I actually said that we had to watch out very carefully for a situation where the Israeli army sent the Phalange into the camps to effect a massacre. By the middle of August I don't think anyone should have doubted that this would happen. And it did happen.

Even so, it did not contribute to the elimination of the Palestinian presence in Lebanon. So it remains to be asked: what did Israel gain? None of its declared goals has been achieved. It has sunk into the terrible mess of Lebanon, to which we cannot contribute, and where we can only make things worse.

The whole thing was in fact a joint American-Israeli venture. Israel could not allow itself a war like that without prior American consent. It was clear that this would be—in terms of money—a very costly war to Israel. It was very easy to calculate how much it would cost, bearing in mind the plan. In fact we are now speaking of a bill of some \$2.5 billion, which Israel is presenting to the U.S. Israel got full backing from the U.S. all through the war. But has America achieved anything? Probably more than Israel.

The vulnerability of Israel to the U.S. is probably greater than ever before. This business of having to pay \$2.5 billion for a war on top of everything else...Begin knows better than anyone else that if this war has to be paid for out of Israel's own resources, it would be the end of his government. It is not so difficult to be a popular leader when he offers the public an easy war, full of glorious successes, and at the same time allows something like three-quarters of a million Israelis to go and have a vacation in Europe. This is an unimaginable situation! In the summer months when the war is being fought, these Israelis go to Europe for vacation, and if you assume that every Israeli takes no more than the law allows him, \$3,000, you get something around the \$2.5 billion that the war cost. In such circumstances it is difficult to be a popular leader. Put Begin in the position where he had to pay for the war out of Israel's own resources and I am sure his popularity would diminish in no time.

Where do we go from here? I think the answer is simple and blunt: it all depends on Washington. Washington now has the power to bring about a change of government if it wants in Israel. Washington can now initiate an overall settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. There are certainly some matters not resolved yet: relations between Israel and the PLO. Evidence in recent interviews with Arafat and Hawatmeh shows that there is an awareness in the PLO that here is an opportunity that should not be let go. Whether the U.S. will do it, I don't know. A reasonable settlement along lines that are pretty obvious—a political solution to the Palestinian problem based on the legitimate rights of the Palestinians—is now possible, more than ever before, and contrary to the expectations of Begin and Sharon. But more than ever this depends on what decisions are taken in Washington."

Alexander Cockburn and James Ridgeway write regularly for the Village Voice, where this article originally appeared.

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Edited by Ibrahim Abu-Lughod

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Carefully read, the various essays in this anthology would alert us to the policies and practices which Israel will pursue in occupied Lebanon with the aim of implementing its objectives of territorial aggrandizement and liquidation of Palestinian Rights.

The various authors include Edward W. Said, Janet Abu-Lughod, Archie Singham, Henry Cattani, Michael Adams, W.T. Mallison, John Quigley, S.S. Nyang, Bayan Al-Hout, Muhammad Hallaj, and others.

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### Keep Going Highlander

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Thanks Highlander  
Keep Going Strong!

—Peter Wood



# Reruns and cheap shots

By Paul Choitz

What's good for CBS is good for children. At least that's the philosophy around the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) since the Reagan administration took over.

After years of seeing children's programming as a hole in the pocket, the networks have gotten the nod from FCC Commissioner Mark Fowler to maximize profits and let the "market forces" decide what goes on the tube.

Gone are the days of 1974, when the FCC believed that "broadcasters have a special obligation to serve children." With the spirit of "deregulation" permeating the industry, ideas like that are as hard to find now as decent children's programs.

Right now there is no daily

for the eyes of women between 18 and 49 than they will for men over 49. And they will pay almost nothing for the eyes of little kids under the age of 6, who are notoriously penurious when it comes to parting with large quantities of money."

But are market forces actually making the decisions? Johnson says no. If the buyer were choosing the product, then pay-by-the-movie television would be the only clear example of market-place determination. Instead of running the best possible programs to attract viewers, commercial television is much more interested in putting out what Paul Klein of NBC used to call "LOP"—least objectionable programming.

"It's all wretched," Johnson said of television programming, "but there is a high proportion of the American people who are going to watch the television

the market forces give them to watch: rich boys on mega-buck capers, brutal barbarians, scantily clad she-heroes, muscular he-heroes and incessant canned laughter.

"When they make comic book video for kids, they're doing it to sell products," said Peggy Charren, president of Action for Children's Television (ACT). "In a system that permits you to pitch to children, that's not the end of the world. But when that's all there is, when only the comic book shelf in the library is filled and all the rest are empty—it's a national disgrace."

ACT has been struggling against this sort of stuff since the late '60s. Over the years they have pressured and cajoled the networks and the FCC to come up with something better for the nation's 51 million children.

"The fact is, like it or not, television has become just about the most important educational institution in this country," said Charren.

What are the kids learning? Captain Kangaroo likes to tell the story of a musician who came up to him once and said: "I'm a concert pianist today because of your program."

That may be a bit of an overstatement about what a little exposure to classical music will do. Yet after a few droning hours of video comics, you can imagine these children walking up to producers and saying: "I'm a sadist today because of your show." Or, "I'm a moron today..." With role models like Thundarr the Barbarian and his grisly band of wonder-thugs, or Pac Man (and Ms. Pac Man and Pac-Baby) cavorting through Pacland protecting power pellets for the Paclanders, what can we expect?

Saturday television not only feeds sexism and violence, it is the Skinner-box of paranoia. Evil is everywhere. From nasty sheiks trying to take over oil fields (that's right) to sinister aliens (that's right) trying to capture magic pyramids, the plots are reduced to a simplistic good-guys, bad-guys context. Scripts call for the star of the show

to kill, wound, vaporize, jail, scare away or otherwise remove the evil.

The long-term effects of television viewing—which averages 24 hours, 48 minutes a week for children 6-11 and 27 hours, 4 minutes for children 2-5—are getting clearer. This year a government-sponsored analysis of a decade of scientific research on the tube's effect on behavior supported one belief parents and teachers have held for some time: violence on television leads to aggressive behavior by children and teenagers.

"In magnitude, television violence is as strongly correlated with aggressive behavior as any other behavior variable that has been measured," said the report by the National Institute of Mental Health. The report is an update to the 1972 Surgeon General's report that showed a

IN THESE TIMES OCT. 27-NOV. 2, 1982 13

cializing agent of American children."

The industry already recognizes the problem, according to Shawn Sheehan, spokesman for National Association of Broadcasters and he says they have already moved to screen violence out of new children's programming. Even if that were true, violent adult shows like *Starsky and Hutch* and *Kojac* are popular with children.

The role of the parents is of course important to all this. Studies have found that in families with the heaviest viewing, TV shows are the main topic of conversation. Kids who watched less were more likely to have their choices restricted and to watch things like *Meet The Press*, *Nova* and *Masterpiece Theatre*.

There are a few excellent children's shows on television. By



morning programming for children on the commercial networks. CBS booted *Captain Kangaroo* to a Saturday and Sunday morning slot, just as they pulled the plug on their award-winning news magazine for kids, *30 Minutes*. NBC introduced *Special Treat* in 1975, and although it is still scheduled for this season, nothing but reruns are planned. Their *Pearlman Showcase*, begun January 17, lost its feathers by February 21 and disappeared from its Sunday dinner-time slot. And ABC's Sunday morning *Kids Are People Too* is now nothing but reruns. What remains is a depressing Saturday morning death-march of would-be superheroes, stale cartoons and video game schlock. According to former FCC Commissioner Nicholas Johnson, a lesson in basic broadcasting is this: Television has nothing to do with programming. Television is the selling of audiences to advertisers.

After all, Johnson said, viewers don't guarantee that a program will stay on the air. "What you're doing is selling a commodity. You sell human eyes to an advertiser at a cost per 1,000. And they will pay more

screen at night regardless of what's on it."

But with kids, the problem is even worse. "You know there are kids out there that are going to watch anything that moves on the screen on Saturday morning, so you're going to put on whatever is cheapest," Johnson said. Why should the networks bother with child psychiatrists and psychologists and pediatricians and story writers? Why bother to spend \$8 million putting out another *Sesame Street*? "Their return isn't there," he said. "Not when they can spend \$15,000 and buy old cartoons."

Meanwhile, back at the bottom line, the networks are earning capital investment returns that often exceed those of the oil industry.

### Cut-back kids.

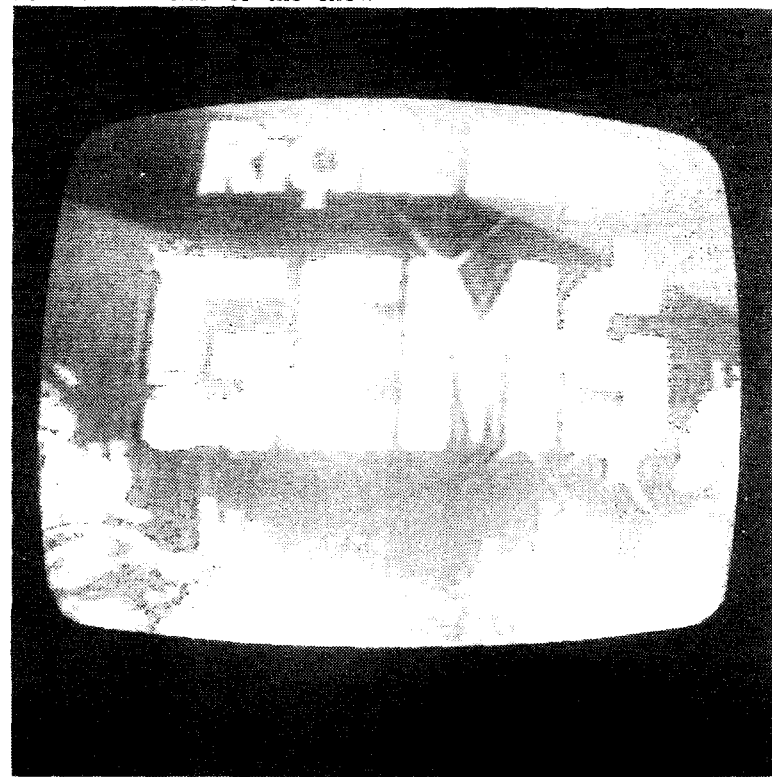
Washed by the cathode ray glow, the Saturday morning children of the '80s watch TV in their "Star Wars" pajamas with catatonic eyes. They are the children of budget-cut schools without school lunch programs—the children likely to be abused because of rising unemployment and an economy wallowing in depression. They are getting what



connection between viewing and short-term aggressive behavior, but left questions about long-term effects.

The questions are gone. Television is "a formidable educator whose effects are both pervasive and cumulative." And the report chillingly calls television "a beguiling" instrument that has become "a major so-

**Scripts call for the stars to kill, wound, vaporize, jail or otherwise remove evil.**



flicking the dial to the network seemingly immune to the ravages of the market forces, children can find *Mister Rogers*, *Sesame Street*, *The Electric Company* and others. They are a lush oasis in the barren desert of television-land. But if Reagan has his way the budget-cutters will be spraying herbicides on these shows too, as public television fights for its life.

Peggy Charren likens regulation of children's TV to pollution control without government regulation. If a company decides to do something about pollution and installs equipment, it will have higher costs and be at a competitive disadvantage with companies that don't care about the air. By requiring a minimum amount of programming for children, the FCC can decrease competitive disadvantages.

Cable does offer some hope, Charren said, but it is still too early to tell. While there are some very good programs on cable, advertising is also creeping in. Nickelodeon, a children's channel with good reviews, plans to offer underwriting privileges to companies. USA Network's *Calliope* started without ads, but has them now. If ads take over, Charren wonders if that may be the end of real alternatives to network programming.

But even with good cable, pressure is needed to force the commercial networks to provide stimulating children's shows, said Charren. "We have to be very careful that we don't end up with diversity available for the rich and the lowest common denominator programming for the poor."

Paul Choitz writes for a variety of Philadelphia publications and has two children.



## INPRINT

## AGRICULTURE



The Communist Party found success in organizing farmers around the issue of farm foreclosures, but lost support by keeping a strict adherence to Soviet guidelines.

## The farmer in revolt: 1920-50

**Red Harvest: The Communist Party and American Farmers**  
By Lowell K. Dyson  
University of Nebraska Press,  
259 pp., \$18.95

By Carl Ross

*Red Harvest* offers the rare opportunity to look back at the "glory days" of farm rebellion in the earlier decades of this century.

Beginning with the '20s, it traces through three decades the experiences of leftist farm organizations in different regions: the Sharecroppers Union of the deep South; the Southern Ten-

ant Farmers' Union; organizing efforts among agricultural and cannery workers that culminated in CIO unions; the Farmers' Holiday movement in the Midwest; and the Dairy Farmers Union in New York state. Dyson also retells the latterday populism ranging from North Dakota's Non Partisan League and Robert LaFollette's Progressive Party campaign of 1924 through Minnesota's Farmer-Labor Party governors to the Progressive Party fiasco of 1948.

But the central focus is on the role of the Communist Party. Dyson, an independent scholar and researcher, had access to the papers of Lem Harris, the

leading figure in rural activities of the Communist Party for decades, and Milo Reno, a leader of the Farm Holiday Movement. Over a period of 20 years, he also interviewed many individuals, especially leftists, who participated in the events he writes about.

American Communists arrived on the political scene during the closing days of the Populist movement, riding the crest of romantic intoxication induced by the 1917 Russian Revolution. And the party's farm policies never escaped from the conflict of these two influences.

When the Communist Party identified with the mainstream

of American political life in the mid-'30s, including the farmers' protest and fight against foreclosures, it gained a following in rural areas.

However, each time it resorted to revolutionary slogans or shifted tactics to accommodate changes in Soviet foreign policy, its farm allies and adherents were left confused, disillusioned or hostile. It could count consistently only on a small cadre of populist "reds"—mainly the leftist Finns who farmed the stump-infested land of northern Minnesota, Wisconsin and Michigan.

Dyson details these experiences objectively, but leans over back-

ward to credit the Communists with tireless organizing work, important leadership and instances of courage. Singled out for praise is Caroline Decker, who went to prison for her pioneering efforts to organize California agricultural workers in the '30s, along with the largely unknown men and women who faced terror and murder because of their organizing work with Southern sharecroppers. He recalls what may have been the high point of success for the Communists, the Farmers National Committee for Action—led by Lem Harris and Harold Ware—which fought against farm foreclosures and for New Deal policies in the Midwest.

Crucial to this history are the unresolved questions of socialist or communist theory—conflicts between reform and revolution. As Dyson says of the Communists, they "sought to change the very nature of the American agricultural system, but the programs that won them the broadest hearing among farmers were aimed at preserving that system. Those programs rested on a long tradition of American farm radicalism, and yet they could be discarded at almost a moment's notice by a directive from the leaders of the Soviet Union."

While this is primarily a history and critique of the Communist Party, *Red Harvest* notes that the basic reason for the failures of the radical farm movement lay in the realities of economic life and the policies of the Roosevelt and Truman administrations. Even as the sharecroppers and tenant farmers of the South were organizing to attain land ownership, New Deal policies of crop reduction and market price stabilization favored large farms. These policies also virtually destroyed the economic basis of sharecropping, thereby driving the Southern rural poor off the land. Similarly, the Truman administration's farm policies, which favored large and middle-sized grain farmers and their marketing cooperatives, undercut the political base of the Henry Wallace Progressive Party candidacy in 1948.

*Red Harvest* is not without weaknesses, but it is likely to be for many years the definitive work on a complex and often ignored chapter of American history.

Carl Ross is the author of *The Finn Factor in American Labor, Culture and Society*.

## Steel

Continued from page 16

says. "They don't even need the open hearth anymore. We're both gone. It'll never come back. Steel's dead."

Kevin isn't the militant kind and never saw the need for protest rallies, but a few months ago he walked a picket line. He joined several hundred other unemployed steelworkers in front of the U.S. Steel Building in downtown Pittsburgh protesting the company's lay-off policies. For the first time in his life, he chanted angry slogans.

"The threat is real from U.S. Steel," he yelled. But, to himself, he admitted it wouldn't get his job back.

Kevin misses his buddies from Homestead's Local 1397, so not too long ago he decided to check out a union rally his local called at Market Square in downtown Pittsburgh.

Kevin's local president, Ron Weisen, was there, as was Mike Stout, a grievance representative for the local. But Kevin didn't really know either of them personally. Nor did he know the other speakers, Democratic County Commissioner Cyril Wecht and Pittsburgh City Councilmember Tom Flaherty. And he didn't recognize anyone else in the lunch-time crowd of several hundred. As far as he could tell, he and a buddy that came along were the only Homestead steelworkers around.

But Kevin dutifully applauded as Mike Stout vowed that "Easter is not going to be the Last Supper for Pittsburgh steelworkers."

And Kevin looked up at the steel-beam skeleton of the PPG Industries' corporate headquarters going up in Market Square and said to himself, "This isn't going to get my job back."

When asked what he'll do with the rest of his life, Kevin reached down and scratched his

dog, Buddha, behind the ears. "Guess I'll raise dogs," he laughed. "And collect unemployment. I'm real good at collecting unemployment."

Then he stopped scratching Buddha's ears and thought for a

moment. "I just don't know what to do," he said slowly. "I never really had to think about it before. I just don't know."

The other night Kevin was on Homestead's Hi-Level Bridge driving across the Mon River in-

to Pittsburgh. It was a little after midnight and Kevin stopped to watch the workers at the Homestead Works come off their shift. He watched them crowd through the mill gate he had

Continued on facing page

## CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is **\$20.00 for one insertion, \$30.00 for two insertions** and **\$15.00 for each additional insert**, for copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of **Beth Maschinot**.

### CHICAGO, ILL.

#### October 30

Meet Jules Feiffer, autographing his new book *Feiffer: Jules Feiffer's America from Eisenhower to Reagan* at 2:00 p.m. at Guild Books, 2456 North Lincoln Avenue. For more information, call (312) 525-3667.

#### November 11

Eric Rouleau, Middle East correspondent for *Le Monde*, will speak on "The Political Aspect of the War in Lebanon and the Palestinian Question." 7:30 p.m., Breasted Hall, The Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, 1155 E. 58th St. Sponsored by American Friends Service Committee and the Center for Middle Eastern Studies.

### BERKSHIRES

#### November 5-7

The Berkshire Forum presents a discussion of "How Capitalism Underdeveloped Black America" led by Manning Marable...one of a series of expertly led weekend vacation workshops in a delightful mountain retreat. Modern lodge. Fine food. Tennis. Write, call Berkshire Forum, Stephen-town, NY 12168. (518) 733-5497.

### PHILADELPHIA, PA

#### November 12-14

The Union for Democratic Communications will explore critical communications issues at its first national conference at International House, 3701 Chestnut St., Philadelphia. Researchers, media producers, activists and educators will focus on strategies for building a democratic communications future. Topics include: alternative media production and distribution, progressive uses of computing technology, uses of media by labor and education, international communications, and industry structures. Cost: \$25 students/low income, \$40/regular; includes membership and dinner. More information: Janet Wasiko, Dept. of Radio-TV-Film, Temple University, Philadelphia, PA 19122. (212) 787-8394.



himself jostled through every work shift for years.

Kevin watched as some of them walked across the old trolley car tracks to Stein's for a few beers before heading home.

And he kept watching the mill gate until only stragglers were left.

Eric Lelf Davin has received a Pennsylvania Humanities Council grant to produce a documentary on an old vaudeville theater in Homestead.

## Beeswax

Continued from page 15  
tween workers and managers. And conventional wisdom teaches that the idea of cooperation—which found concrete expression when Old Beeswax and

other Knights of Labor opened a producer-owned shoe factory—generally did not fare very well in the American Gilded Age.

Yet by 1892 in Homestead the English-speaking steelworkers who were drawn to Old Beeswax and his cooperative vision found common ground with the more recently immigrated workers from Eastern Europe. These new immigrants, most of them "unskilled," worked alongside the skilled English-speaking steelworkers but were not allowed to join the Amalgamated. But the unskilled "Hunkies," as they were called, and the skilled English-speakers forged an unprecedented solidarity in the famous 1892 lockout when they seized the mill they considered their own because they made it work.

Echoes of this sentiment can be heard today in Homestead,

where the United Steelworkers Local 1397 has taken U.S. Steel to court in an effort to force disclosure of company plans for any improvements or shutdowns in the Homestead works.

Old Beeswax would undoubtedly approve. He might, however, prod the steelworkers on with

his pointed *Irish World* pen:

"Has Labor no rights that Capital should respect?"

"It has," a fat businessman replied, "the saint rites that mules or jackasses have, or any other beast or burden.... The rite to the crumbs that fall from the table of idleness, and the privilege of

drawing our chariots when we need um."

Paul Krause is a doctoral candidate at Duke University, Durham, N.C., where he is writing a history of Homestead from 1880 through 1892.

## Sylvia

by Nicole Hollander



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UNITED FARM WORKERS need boycott organizers. Subsistence pay, rewarding hard work. Chicago (312) 786-0528; New York (212) 580-3031; Los Angeles (213) 386-0209.

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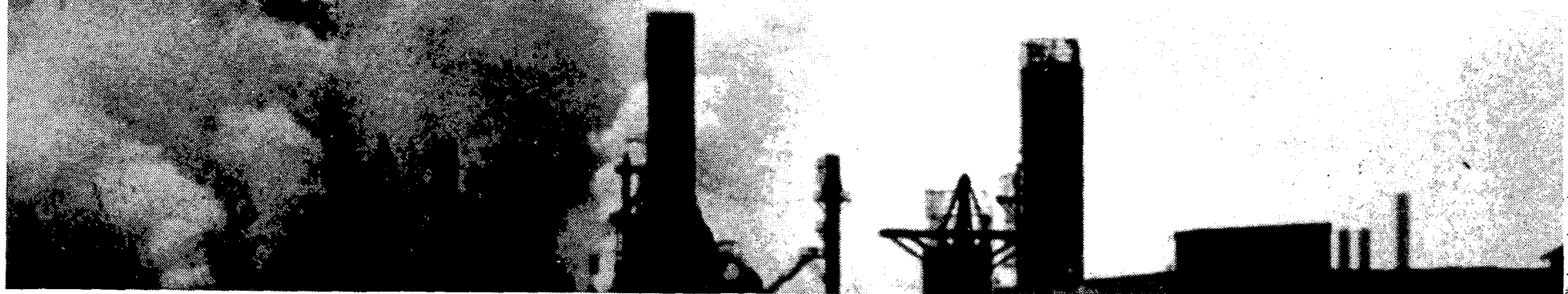
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# Hard times at Homestead



Photographer unknown

*The raging furnaces of the Homestead Works steel mill near Pittsburgh, Pa., produced the plant's first steel rail in August, 1881. Within a year, a strike had broken out. It was soon resolved and workers won the right to unionize. But the uneasy peace didn't last. Worker unrest continued, building to the 1892 Homestead lockout in which workers seized the mill Andrew Carnegie had purchased in 1883.*

*Now, more than 100 years after the plant opened, labor problems still plague the Homestead Works. But today's steelworkers face massive layoffs, not strike-breaking. More than a third of the plant's steelworkers have been laid off and have little hope of returning to work. In the articles below, one writer looks at the frustration of a laid-off steelworker and another traces the tradition of labor activity that is as old as Homestead itself.*

## A steelworker and the last shift

By Eric Leif Davin

**N**o one hangs around the Homestead Works after the midnight shift change. The steelworkers flow through the gate near the Hi-Level Bridge and quickly fade into the night, eager for home.

Some of the younger ones, like Kevin Shay, stop at Stein's Bar first. Kevin remembers wistfully how the old trolley tracks, almost buried in the asphalt, poked through the soles of his tennis shoes as he crossed the street with his buddies on their way to Stein's to blow off steam and lift a few before heading home.

Kevin is 30. He began working in the Homestead steel mill 10 years ago. Kevin's father also worked in the mill, as did his grandfather.

Kevin worked all three shifts at one time or another, but that surge of release into Homestead's dark streets at the end of his four to midnight shift stays with him most. Kevin worked nights in Homestead's ancient open hearth blast furnace. And he liked it.



"Sure, I worked hard," he says, "but I made \$22,000 a year, ya know? I was content. I was willing to go for it. Thirty-five, 40 years in the mill—the whole bit."

Then Kevin became a statistic, one of the 2,400 recently laid off steelworkers from a total workforce of 6,500 at U.S. Steel's Homestead Works. That was six months ago.

"You know," he says, "they used to have gangs of men feeding the open hearths with shovels of coal. Now they have machines to do that."

Kevin doesn't expect to be called back. Ever.

"They don't need me anymore," he

*Continued on page 14*

## Old Beeswax and the first strike

By Paul Krause

**H**ard times are not new to Homestead, but neither is the demand for worker control over conditions in the steel mill. One early supporter of that demand was Thomas W. Taylor, who in 1886 was elected mayor of the town of Homestead by its steelworker residents.

As the historical record indicates, Taylor was a character. He was widely known as "Old Beeswax," a nickname acquired, he explained, because he "worked so hard in his early days that all the sweetness of his life was extracted, and there is nothing left but the wax that sticks after the honey has been taken out."

Born in Middleton, England, in 1819, Old Beeswax began working at seven as a cotton-mill hand, and continued to work in textile mills for 30 years after emigrating to Massachusetts. In the late 1870s, Old Beeswax moved to Pennsylvania and started writing a humorous, acerbic column called "Beeswax's" for Patrick Ford's newspaper, *The Irish World and American Industrial Liberator*.

In his columns for *The Irish World*, Old Beeswax denounced the wage system and "wage slavery." He also urged working people to organize their own political party and to pool their resources so they could buy businesses and run them for themselves.

Beeswax, who was an organizer and campaigner for the Greenback Labor Party and its various incarnations in the 1870s and 1880s, belonged to that generation of American labor leaders called "labor reformers." But the reform he advocated was rather broad in scope.

Old Beeswax wanted a "cooperative" society in which the apparently natural, inevitable and unending conflicts between workers and businessmen would be "harmonized." This was a polite—and a peculiarly American—way of saying that the workers should own the means of production.

In 1882, Old Beeswax applied his cooperative vision to the recent labor troubles at the Homestead Works. The troubles had begun when the managers tried to break the steelworkers union, the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, by forcing them to sign an "ironclad" oath renouncing union membership as a condition of employment.

The steelworkers refused because they did not want to become "slaves." They went out on strike and a series of violent confrontations began between the workers on one side and the managers, "black-sheep" strikebreakers and police on the other. By mid-March, the managers had capitulated and the steelworkers won what was to prove, in light of the union's crushing defeat in the 1892 lockout, only an ephemeral victory. But their union won recognition and the right to have a say in how the Homestead Works was run.

Old Beeswax stood squarely with the steelworkers in January, February and March of 1882. And later that year he was on their side again when "The Big Strike" convulsed the industrializing U.S. by shutting down nearly every iron mill west of the Allegheny Mountains.

But when the steadfastly entrepreneurial editor of the *Homestead Times* asked Old Beeswax for his opinion on the Homestead strike, he wrote that workers faced an infinitely more difficult problem than management's demand for the ironclad no-union clause.

"When radical evils exist," Old Beeswax wrote, "inflicting suffering on the many, to enrich the few, the true philanthropist and lover of justice should dig down beneath the surface specks of such evils and discover the cause and the causes. If this is done impartially, it will be found that the difficulty rests not with the parties in conflict, so much as with the false relations existing between them."

"After 40 years of experience, I am forced to the conclusion that the only sure way out of the antagonism now existing between labor and capital is co-operation... (when) operatives are their own employers."

Old Beeswax and other "cooperators" did not leave us with elaborate plans for how to change the "false relations" be-

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